



**NARRATIVE**  
OF  
**A JOURNEY**  
THROUGH THE  
**UPPER PROVINCES OF INDIA,**  
FROM  
**CALCUTTA TO BOMBAY, 1824—1825.**  
(WITH NOTES UPON CEYLON,)

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO  
**MADRAS AND THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1826,**  
*AND LETTERS WRITTEN IN INDIA.*

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BY THE LATE RIGHT REV.  
**REGINALD HEBER, D.D.**  
*LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.*

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CHAPTER XIV.

ALLAHABAD TO CAWNPOOR.

*Description of Caravan—Armed Peasantry—Camaulpoor—Fyzee Musseck—Visits from Zemindar and Imam—Mussulman Soldier turned Saint—Ryats oppressed by Soldiery—Futtehpoor—Serai—Beggars living in Tombs—Stormy March to Kuleānpoor—Dark Journey to Cawnpoor—Hospital and School—Description of Town and Climate.*

At length, on Thursday morning the 30th of September, we began our journey, having sent off some hours before our motley train, consisting of twenty-four camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twenty-four horse-servants, including those of the Arch-deacon and Mr. Lushington, ten poneys, forty bearers and coolies of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a guard of twenty Sepoys under a native officer. The whimsical caravan filed off in state before me; my servants, all armed with spears, to which many of them had added, at their



own cost, sabres of the longest growth, looked, on their little poneys, like something between cos-sacks and sheriff's javelin-men; my new Turkoman horse, still in the costume of his country, with his long, squirrel-like tail painted red, and his mane plaited in love-knots, looked as if he were going to eat fire, or perform some other part in a melodrama; while Mr. Lushington's horses, two very pretty Arabs, with their tails docked, and their saddles English ("Ungrigi") fashion, might have attracted notice in Hyde-park; the Archdeacon's buggy and horse had every appearance of issuing from the back gate of a college in Cambridge on a Sunday morning; and lastly came some mounted gens d'armes, and a sword and buckler-man on foot, looking exactly like the advanced guard of a Tartar army. Rain, however, long prayed for, but which was now an inconvenience to us, prevented our starting all together, and it was late in the evening before we arrived at Cooseah, 16 miles from Allahabad, where we found two excellent tents, of three apartments each, pitched for our reception, and the tea-kettle boiling under the shade of some stately trees in a wild country of ruins and jungle, now gemmed and glowing with the scattered fires of our cofilah.

This was the first night I ever passed under canvas, and, independent of its novelty, I found the comforts of my dwelling greatly exceed my expectation. The breeze blew in very fresh and pleasantly through the tent door, the ground, covered with short withered grass, was perfectly dry,

though rain had so lately fallen, and my bed and musquito-curtains were arranged with as much comfort as in Calcutta. The only circumstance which struck me as likely to be annoying, even to a lady, was the publicity of the situation,—her bed within a few inches of an open door, a body of men-servants and soldiers sleeping all round that door, and a sentry pacing backwards and forwards before it. After all, however, this publicity is more apparent than real. The check of the tent prevents effectually any person from seeing what passes within who does not come purposely up to peep, and this the sentry would not allow.

At five o'clock on the morning of October 1st we again began our march, and proceeded about twelve miles, to the second customary station, called Cussiah, a grove of neem-trees, more extensive than that which we had left, and at a small distance from a large but ruinous village. We passed through a country much wilder, worse cultivated, and worse peopled than any which I had seen in India. What cultivation there was consisted of maize, growing very tall, but sadly burnt by the continued drought. This, however, was only in patches, and the greater part of the prospect consisted of small woods, scattered in a very picturesque manner over a champaign country, with few signs of habitations, and those most of them in ruins. I was strongly reminded of the country of the Tchemoi-morski cossacks, to which the groupes of people in dresses nearly similar, and all armed, who passed us on the road, undoubtedly,

in a great measure, contributed. I had been disposed to wonder at Colonel Francklin's counsel to buy spears for my servants, and at the escort which had been ordered me; but I soon found, that whether necessary or not, such precautions were at least customary. Every traveller whom we met, even the common people going to market, had either swords and shields, spears, or match-lock guns, and one man had a bow and quiver of arrows, in that circumstance, as well as in his dress and person, extremely resembling a Circassian warrior. The road was rugged; nothing, indeed, so far as I had yet seen, could appear more unfounded than the assurances which I have heard in Calcutta, that an open carriage is an eligible method of travelling in the Dooab, on any other ground than cheapness. I have been often told that the road as far as Meerut would answer perfectly for a gig. The fact is, there are no roads at all, and the tracks which we follow are very often such as to require care even on horseback. By driving slowly, no doubt a gig may go almost any where, but it is any thing but an agreeable pastime to drive along tracks which, when beaten, are so poached by the feet of horses and cattle, and so hardened by the sun as to resemble a frozen farm-yard, while if the traveller forsakes these roads, he encounters cracks deep and wide enough to break his wheels. Here and there is a tolerably level mile or two, but with a few such exceptions, there is no fast or pleasant driving in this part of India.

Both men and women, whom we met on the

road, I thought decidedly taller, fairer, and finer people than the Bengalees. Some of the Sepoys, indeed, of a regiment who passed us, were of complexions so little darker than those of Europe, that as they approached I really at first took them for Europeans. Every thing seems to assimilate gradually to the scenes and habits of the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The people no longer talk of their daily *rice*, but say "it is time to eat *bread* to-day." Instead of the softness and gentleness so apparent in those Indians whom we first saw, these men have a proud step, a stern eye, and a rough loud voice, such as might be expected from people living almost always in the open air, and in a country where, till its acquisition by the English, no man was sure that he might not at any moment be compelled to fight for his life or property. Much of this necessity is passed away, but something yet remains. The nation is still one of lawless and violent habits, containing many professed thieves, and many mercenary soldiers, who, in the present tranquillity of the country, are at any instant ready to become thieves, and the general sense of moral feeling is, in this particular, so low, that one ceases to wonder that banditti are from time to time heard of, and that every body finds it desirable to take his arms with him on a journey.

I was greatly pleased with my new horse, but I was annoyed in the course of the ride by one of his shoes breaking. At Cassiah I enquired of the "Tussildar," or tacksman, a very decent sort of gentleman-farmer, where a smith could be ob-

tained, and he told me to my sorrow that the people of the country seldom shod their horses, and that I should not meet with one nearer than Futtehpoor, a distance of three days' journey. There was no remedy but patience, and I had my horse led as quietly as possible. In other things there was enough to occupy my attention, as I was assailed by complaints from every part of the cofilah, of some deficiency or other in our equipments, or some experienced, or apprehended inconvenience. My own tents were found to be so large as to require elephants to carry them, the camels were too few, and some of them were very weak, there were no "sitringees," or tent-carpets, and no tent for the Sepoys. In the midst of all this hubbub, it began to rain hard, and the camp-followers with one consent began to say that we must halt next day to supply these deficiencies, and to dry the tents, which being so large, could not be carried in a wet state. To halt on a Saturday I was very unwilling, inasmuch as I had always proposed to rest on the Sunday following. I did my best, therefore, to persuade them to get on with all which could be done that day, and since the camels were too few, applied to the Tussildar for some hackeries to help them. Even to this, however, the poverty of the village was unequal, and I was glad to obtain four baggage-oxen, to make up the deficiency in the Company's appointments. Meantime arrived a Sepoy, with sitringees from General Morley, and I sent back by him some of the most useless articles of our equipage, thus materially lightening one of

the heaviest laden camels. The rest were relieved by the accession of the oxen, and if the tents got dry, the "clashees" (tent-pitchers) again allowed that we might proceed in the morning prosperously. The evening was fair and very pleasant, and we all found abundant interest and employment in walking round the motley groupes of men and animals which made up our caravan, seeing the camels, horses, and oxen fed, and talking with the Tus-sildar, who with a little retinue of swords, shields, and spears behind him, again made his appearance. I attempted to have some conversation with the Jemautdar, who commanded the Sepoys, but found him a very shy and modest man, little disposed to talk, while for asking many questions, my language was hardly sufficient; to him and the soldiers I gave up some of the servants' tents, as they had been completely overlooked by the Commissariat at Allahabad.

In the course of this evening a fellow, who said he was a gao-wala, brought me two poor little leverets, which he said he had just found in a field. They were quite unfit to eat, and the bringing them was an act of cruelty of which there are few instances among the Hindoos, who are generally humane to wild animals. In this case, on my scolding the man for bringing such poor little things from their mother, all the crowd of camel-drivers and camp-followers, of whom no inconsiderable number were around us, expressed great satisfaction and an entire concurrence in my censure. It ended in the man promising to take them back to

the very spot (which he described) where he had picked them up, and in my promising him an ana if he did so. To see him keep his word two stout waggoner's boys immediately volunteered their services, and I have no doubt kept him to his contract.

*October 2.*—The night was drizzly, so that when I arose at four in the morning I found the tent too wet, in the opinion of the Tindals, for the camels to bear it. About eight o'clock, however, a drying wind having sprung up, we were enabled to send off the two small "routees," (or breakfast-tents,) to serve as a shelter till the arrival of the larger tents, and partly on horseback, partly in my palanquin, I reached a place a few miles short of our destined station before noon. At Coty, our halting-place, we remained till the cool of the evening, and then went on to Camaulpoor, near Currah. Here we encamped amid a vast field of tombs and ruins, (of the former our guide said there was "a lac all save five,") and the whole scene, with its jungle, and deserted appearance, was singularly picturesque and romantic. The inhabited part of Currah is still, however, considerable, and we soon found that there were people in the neighbourhood, by the number of little shops at once set up under the trees around us, with an eye to our custom.

Currah owes its fame, it seems, and stately buildings to a celebrated saint named Camaul Shek, who, with his son, and several of his disciples, lies buried here. The tomb is still in tolerable repair, which

is more than can be said of any of the others, which have been splendid but are now mere ruins, in a grave and solemn style of architecture, being a square tower pierced on each front with elegantly formed and carved Gothic door-ways, and surmounted with a dome of a very judicious form, and harmonizing with the general character of the building, not being semi-circular but conical, and in the same form of a Gothic arch, as is displayed in the other arches of the building. Besides this large chapel are many raised tombs, of different sizes, from small terraces, with *kiblas* for prayers, down to stone coffins as they are sometimes called in England, and as they are found in similar forms and with nearly the same ornaments, in our old Cathedrals. These ruins and sepulchres reminded me of Caffa; but there was no other similarity; instead of the bare rocks which surround that ancient city, we had a grove of noble trees, under which our horses, camels, and bullocks were disposed in different clusters, and the tents, the fires, the baskets of fruits, rice, ghee, &c. exposed for sale, and the varied and picturesque costume of the crowd assembled under it, the red uniform of the Sepoys, the white garments of our own servants, the long veils and silver ornaments of the female villagers, and the dark mantles, dark beards, and naked limbs of the male peasantry and coolies, mingled with the showy dresses, swords, shields, and spears of the Chuprassies, gave the whole scene the animated and interesting effect of an eastern fair, an effect which the east, perhaps, can



alone supply, and which I greatly regretted my want of skill to convey effectually to my friends in Europe. My dear wife will, I trust, sooner or later see many such scenes in my company.

These tombs, ruins, and jungles are favourable to robbery, for which Currah and Camaulpoor bear a very bad name, and an additional body of ten Chuprassies, besides the four Sepoy sentries, were thought necessary by the Zemindar of Currah to keep watch at night over our extensive encampment.

*October 3.*—This day being Sunday was a day of rest to us all, and to none of us I believe was it unacceptable. Its value to the animals, soldiers, and labourers was never perhaps so powerfully impressed on my mind, as now that I saw them round me, after three days of great fatigue, in the actual enjoyment of a twenty-four hours' repose and relaxation. I had Church in my tent which, besides our two families and Abdullah, was attended by two of Mr. Corrie's former converts, Fyzee Musseeh and Anund Musseeh, who joined him at Benares, and are attending him up the country. The latter is a fine young man, who speaks and reads English well. Fyzee Musseeh understands it but imperfectly, except in reading, but is an interesting and remarkable person. He is the son of a wealthy ryut near Moradabad, who, though himself a Hindoo, sent his son to a celebrated Mussulman preceptor, in the hope that a knowledge of Arabic and Persian would recommend him to the service of the king of Oude. The lessons,

however, which the young idolater received opened his eyes to the absurdity of the religion which he had hitherto professed. He turned Mussulman, was circumcised, and received the name of Fyzee Mohammed, and was regarded for several years as one of the most promising students among "the true believers." His increased knowledge, however, of his new creed was far from satisfying him of its proceeding from God, and he was still more induced to waver by learning that a very holy Mussulman saint in the neighbourhood had, on his death-bed, confessed that he found no comfort but in the words of Jesus the son of Mary. To obtain a knowledge of these words, he went to a Romish Priest at Lucknow, and applied to him for a copy of the Gospel. The priest took considerable pains with him, but Fyzee Mohammed no sooner saw the images in his chapel than he cried out that this could never be the religion of which he was in quest, and undertook another journey in search of Mr. Chamberlain, the Baptist minister, who was then in the service of the Begum Sumroo. He had but little conversation with him, but obtained the book he wanted, which completely convinced him, till he was again dissatisfied with the explication which he obtained of some of the difficult passages. He at length went to Agra, another long journey, and after staying some time in Mr. Corrie's neighbourhood, was baptized into, and has ever since continued a steady member of, the Church of England, under the name of Fyzee Musseeh. He is a little man, middle aged, with a very mild and me-

ditative cast of countenance, of no talent for public speaking, and his whole manner reserved, shy, and timid. He is, however, an admirable scholar in every part of eastern learning, of much disinterestedness and modesty, reads English pretty well, though he is too diffident to speak it, and is still very greatly respected as a learned and holy man by many both of the Hindoos and Mussulmans. His retired manner and want of oratorical powers have as yet deterred Mr. Corrie from recommending him as a Missionary or Catechist, but I am myself inclined to believe that his sterling sense and intellectual powers may well counterbalance any external deficiencies. Fyzee Musseeh travels independently of us on a poney, with one servant, for his circumstances are respectable. He lodges in the caravanserais, and from time to time calls on the Archdeacon. This morning he brought a singular account of a conversation he had had the night before with a stranger, a Hindoo in outward appearance, who, on entering the serai, drew his carpet near him, and conversed on indifferent subjects till the usual hour of Mussulman prayer, when, supposing him to be a Mussulman, he said, "I will pray with you," and chanted a distich which Mohammedans are in this country fond of repeating :

" If the grandson of Jesus had died for the sins of men,  
Then all the Christians would have been Mussulmans."

The meaning of this couplet is not very easy to make out. All I can conjecture is, that there is

some confusion between sister's son, or cousin, and grandson, the name of Agawzee being, though less properly, applicable to these relations likewise, that an allusion is made to the notion entertained by Mussulmans, that our Lord himself was not crucified, but taken up to heaven, and that Judas was executed in his stead and in his likeness; and lastly, that they confound Judas, or Jude, the relation of our Lord (not Iscariot) with the traitor, and that they mean to say, that had the atonement on the cross been what Christians suppose, they would have been the true professors of Islam, and the subsequent mission of Mohammed would have been unnecessary. Be this as it may, the couplet gave occasion to Fyzee Musseeh to set his new acquaintance right as to many particulars in the history of Christ, to which the man listened with profound attention. When he had ended, he asked some very pertinent questions, and at length said, "May God reward you, Sir! God, I believe, has sent me to this place to meet you, for you have told me much which I did not know before, and much that I was desirous of learning. I am a Hindoo, but have been for some time a searcher after truth, and was inclined to turn Mussulman, if I had not found that the Mussulmans also acknowledged Eesa as a prophet, and that therefore it was desirable to learn something of his religion in the first place. I shall now pray to God and to Jesus to guide me farther." They prayed together, and parted next morning, the man saying that Fyzee Musseeh should hear from him again.

This is interesting in itself, and on many accounts; but it is particularly curious, inasmuch as Fyzee Musseeh says it is only one of many symptoms of a considerable change taking place in the Hindoo mind, a growing contempt of idolatry, and an anxiety after other forms of belief. At present he says the Mussulmans get many converts. Ere long, perhaps, Christianity also may come in for its share of the harvest.

Fyzee Musseeh was not our only visitor; the Zemindar, a very well dressed and gentlemanly man, on a good horse, and with a greater retinue than usual, also called and sate some time. Mr. Ward, the collector of Allahabad, had prepared us to expect him, and told us that he was a man of good family, and respectable character. The conversation was, of course, general enough, till I luckily introduced the subject of field-sports, on which he was eloquent. I observed, that there was much jungle in the neighbourhood, and asked if there were any tygers. "Tygers! No," said he, "not for several years back; and as for jungle, there is three times as much cultivated land now as there used to be under the government of the Vizier. Then there were tygers in plenty, and more than plenty; but there are better things than tygers now, such as corn-fields, villages, and people. However, in the jungle which still remains, we have deer, wild hogs, and *arnu*." This latter name belongs to a species of gigantic buffaloe, which I had understood to be very uncommon, but which it seems, though rare, is here sometimes to be met

with. The thickest jungles, he said, were on the banks of the river, and they were the most abundant in game of every kind. On the whole it is curious and interesting to find both the apparently progressive improvement of the country under the British government, as contrasted with its previous state, and also how soon, and how easily, in a settled country, the most formidable wild animals become extinct before the power of man. The tyger will soon be almost as great a rarity in our eastern as in our western dominions ; the snake, however, will hold his ground longer. I forgot to mention, that while at Allahabad I was one night roused by the entrance of several men armed with sticks and spears. Abdullah, who was at their head, called out, "Lie still, my lord ; these people have seen a very large chichta creep into your window." I did not lie still, however, but got a stick and joined the party ; after an accurate search nothing was found except a large hole in the floor, into which, probably, the animal had made its escape. The bearers might have killed him when they first saw him, but, unless they are urged to do so, they seldom will, from their superstitious veneration for serpents, a feeling very common among the Hindoos, and which accounts, in part, for the number of snakes yet found in these provinces. Next morning a farther search was made, but nothing found ; and I could observe that this double discovery of snakes entering my bed-room, was considered by my Hindoo servants as a sign of great good luck, and raised me in their estimation.

We had yet another visitor ; the Imam of the neighbouring mosque, a very handsome man, with a splendid beard, a cheerful, though rather sarcastic countenance, and two of the merriest, most intelligent eyes that I have seen, called, as he said, in his capacity of *Padré*, to offer his respects to *his Bishop*. He had been a pilgrim to Mecca and Medina, had visited Jerusalem, mount Sinai, and Cairo, and had testimonials from a Greek Archimandrite at Bethlehem to his good character and good acquirements. He sate with us some time, and I was able to understand him very tolerably. Mr. Corrie was much amused with him, and said he was a good specimen of a travelled worldly Mussulman, with little seriousness in his peculiar creed, and probably few thoughts of religion at all. I asked him to drink coffee, telling him that he must know very well that in Turkey, Egypt, and Arabia, Mussulmans and Christians eat together without scruple. He bowed, and answered with a smile, "I know that well, my lord, but it is not the custom in this country." He was pleased, however, with the offer, and said, with my permission, since we seemed curious about his travels, he would return in the evening and bring his journal, which he had kept regularly. I answered, that if his journal was as entertaining as his conversation, he might find it worth his while to get it printed at Calcutta. In the evening, however, it turned out to be a very short and dry diary, merely curious to a person making a map. Indeed, to do him justice, when I talked about printing it at first, he

shook his head, as if he thought it would not answer. He now told us how it came to pass that he first went to Mecca. A certain Mussulman of good connections, and bred a soldier, had been, after the late pacification of India by Lord Hastings, completely thrown out of employment. In his distress what to do, he applied to a relation high in the service of the Nawáb Vizier, for help and advice, whose answer was, "Turn Saint." "How so!" was the reply; "every body knows that my life has not been saintly!" "But your beard," said the adviser, "is very much so, and a few weeks will enable you to assume the proper tone and carriage. I have a brother who is a man of acknowledged learning and holiness; I will get him to countenance you, and introduce you to different devout Mussulmans, and then you have only to get disciples, and you will live very well." He did so,—put on a coarse raiment and a sad exterior, preached up pilgrimage to Mecca, declared himself ready to conduct a caravan thither, and soon found people enough, among whom our guest was one, to follow him and subscribe their money for this holy undertaking. The profits, however, he made during the voyage, and by a *dustoor*<sup>1</sup> on all the alms either given or received by the party, were so considerable, that on his return some of his confidential disciples had a quarrel with him for a more equal distribution of booty, and scandal arose, which

<sup>1</sup> A customary deduction from all money paid, given, or received on any possible occasion, made by the person through whose hands it passes, and one of the most fruitful sources of cheating in India.—*Ed.*



compelled the saint to go and make disciples elsewhere. "Nevertheless," said the Hajee who gave us this account, composing his face to a due expression of gravity, "he is doubtless a holy man, and of great eloquence." I suspect our visitor may have been, on this occasion, not one of the geese, but the foxes.

*October 4.*—We went this morning to a station named Choubee Serai, through a country differing little from that which we had passed already. In the march we met a strong column of infantry, about 2,300 men, with a long train of baggage, elephants, camels, bullocks, and camp-followers, on their march from Cawnpoor to the eastward. The groupes afforded by the line of march, the little parties halting under trees, the loaded animals, the native women conveyed in "dhoolies," or litters, and hackeries, the naked limbs of the baggage-drivers and camp-followers, the different gradations of horse, from the wild shaggy tattoo, to the sleek and gentle Arab, with the uniforms and arms, were some of them beyond description beautiful. What would not Wouverman have made of an Eastern army.

Some of the Sepoys asked Mr. Corrie's servants to whom our party belonged, and where we were going. On being told it was the Lord Padre Sahib going to Bombay, one of them exclaimed, "The Lord Sahib goes to the side of Bombay, we go where fighting is!" It is possible that he had never heard of any Lord Sahib but the Governor-general, and was therefore naturally surprised to

hear of his going in a direction so contrary to that where the stress of public affairs called him. On our arrival at Choubee Serai, we found the people complaining sadly of these troops, who had, they said, taken whatever they wanted without payment, had broken and wasted more than they consumed, and beaten the peasantry for not bringing the supplies faster. The laws of British India are, in these respects, no less just than those of England, and the magistrates, I have every reason to believe, are, to the utmost of their power, anxious to afford complete protection to the people. There are some articles, however, such as grass, fire-wood, and earthen pots of the cheap and coarse kind used once for cooking a dinner and afterwards broken by all Hindoos of a respectable caste, which the Zemindars are expected to furnish gratis to the Company's troops, and all persons travelling with public "Purwannus," or Government orders, for which the Zemindars receive a yearly abatement of their taxes, but which may sometimes, when many and extensive requisitions are made, press hard on the poor ryuts. I was, therefore, as careful as I possibly could be to ascertain the amount of the different things demanded by my people, or furnished by the villagers, to take care that no unreasonable demands were made, and that nothing more than the letter of the law required, was either taken or accepted by our people without payment. This was the first thing I did on alighting from my horse, (my arrival in the camp and that of the supplies usually taking place about the

same time) and while a readiness to listen to all complaints obtained me from the peasantry the name of "Ghureeb-purwar," (poor man's provider) the object was easily accomplished with a caravan so small as ours. With an army, however, of course, the case is very different, and the officers at Cawnpoor, to whom I thought it right to mention the complaints I had heard, said that they feared the Sepoys often took provisions without payment, when the bustle of a march and other circumstances rendered them secure from the observation of their European officers. Still they said, the neighbourhood even of these last was a great check to them, and the difference between their minor encroachments, and the open plunder and violence of a native prince's camp, was what nobody could believe who had not seen it.

Soon after I had got through the complaints and difficulties of the *Commissariat*, an elderly European in a shabby gig drove up, and entering into conversation with Abdullah, asked him some questions about my horse. On hearing that he had lost a shoe, he professed himself a blacksmith, and said he had been farrier many years to a dragoon regiment, and was now a pensioner, on his way to Allahabad in search of employment in his trade. He produced some specimens of very neat horse-shoes, and I soon set him to work to remove the Indian shoes, which pinched my horse's feet, and replace them with some of a better fashion. He was a very good and tolerably reasonable workman, a Lancashire man from the borders of Yorkshire,

with a dialect and physiognomy rather approaching the latter than the former country. In the evening he went on to the serai a little farther, having, as he frankly observed, "been in *vary gud luk* to meet us," since he found a profitable job without any delay in his journey, and obtained a letter of recommendation, as a neat artist, to Allahabad. In the course of this evening my attention was attracted by the dreadful groans of one of our baggage-camels at some little distance among the trees. I went to the spot and found that two of the "Sarbanns," or camel-drivers, had bound its legs in a kneeling posture, so that it could not rise or stir, and were now busy in burning it with hot irons, in all the fleshy, muscular, and cartilaginous parts of its body. They had burned six deep notches in the back of its neck, had seared both its cheeks immediately under the eye, its haunches and head, and were now applying the torturing instrument to its forehead and nostrils. I asked what they were doing, and they answered that "it had a fever and wind, and would die if they did not treat it in this manner." I called Abdullah and asked him if such a remedy was usual. He said it was so in this country and in Persia, but that the Arabs in similar cases found a little warm water-gruel with garlick sufficient. I should have thought so too, but the poor animal's sufferings were now over for the present, and by and bye they actually gave it a large ball of garlick. It was better, they told me, some hours after, but on renewing my enquiries in the morning, I heard that it was finally released from its misery.

*October 5.*—Another stage of 14 miles to Mundiserai. The parched state of the country had till now threatened a famine. Rain had fallen at Benares and Allahabad, but none as yet in the country through which we had marched. The fears expressed by the poor people every where had been very touching. One of the Tussildars had asked me to pray for them, and said, with a curious mixture of Eastern compliment and undoubted truth, “We poor people have had great trouble here, but now your worship is come, if it pleases God, we shall have rain.” I assured him of my prayers, and had, indeed, used, both in the Church at Allahabad, and during our morning and evening family prayers of every day for the last fortnight, the Collect containing that petition. This morning, soon after we had reached our encampment, their deep distress was relieved, and several smart showers fell during the day and night, at which we rejoiced most sincerely, since, though for us the dry weather was better, it was impossible to put our convenience in competition with the food of millions. The change of weather, however, seemed to disagree with our people, who were several of them taken ill, but were relieved by proper remedies.

*October 6.*—The march before us being longer than usual, the loaded waggons began to set out soon after midnight, and Mr. Lushington and I were on horseback at three, to enable the Clashes to take down our tents. The sky was cloudy, and as we picked our way with some difficulty in the dark, through watery roads and a wild open coun-

try, my recollection was forcibly drawn to those times when my youngest brother and I used to ride some miles to meet the mail in our way to school, and afterwards to College. Thence I naturally passed to the journeys of a riper age in the same neighbourhood, my wife's parting adieu and exhortation to take care of myself, and to write as soon as I got to London, at a time when we little thought of ever enduring more than a month's separation. Hodnet, dear Hodnet, as we left it, and as it is now, Moreton, and all the names and recollections connected with them, combined to make me sad, and I was obliged to turn my attention to Bombay, and the meeting to which I look forwards there, to restrain some emotion which I was not sorry the darkness concealed. We rode on in silence about seven miles, when, in passing a village, we were roused by the lights, tinsel, flowers, mummery, horns, gongs, and shouts of Seeta, Rama, Luchmun, and their followers, in the concluding feast after the destruction of the paper giant Ravana. The show was really pretty at a certain distance, but the little performers were all sadly tired, and I was not sorry, for their sakes, that this was their last night of acting.

One of the byestanders told us our road, which we should otherwise have had some difficulty in finding, and we went on through a winding street, and amid the mud walls of cow-houses and sheds, when a coolie came up to me and said that Dinoo, one of my sick servants, had fallen off his horse and was dying. I immediately went into the watch-

house, and found him stretched on a mat which they had brought out for him, complaining of great pain, but speaking little and moaning dismally. I was much shocked, and the more so because I did not know what to give him; indeed my medicine chest was gone on with the palanquin, and all the town, except the watchman, were busy with the show. I asked if they could get a dhooly for him, and bring him on to our next station, Futtehpoor. The watchman, who was now joined by another man, said, "there were no bearers in the village." "What," said I, "all those men whom I saw following Rama, can none of them put their shoulders under a bamboo and carry this poor man a few coss, when they are sure of being well paid for it?" "My Lord," was the characteristic answer, "they are all coolies, not bearers, they can only carry loads on their heads, and cannot carry a man!" I grew impatient, and said that I insisted upon his being brought some way or other, and by hand, for the motion of a hackery was more than he could bear, and that if he was not brought in three hours' time to Futtehpoor, I would complain to the Cutwal. I repeated this to the Jemautdar of the village, who now made his appearance, and he promised faithfully that help should be forthcoming. At length (an European would never guess how the matter was settled) four women came forward with one of the country cane-beds; the patient was placed on it, and the sturdy lasses took it up on their heads like Cariatides, and trudged away with it. I left a spearman by

way of escort, and went on before, with but little hope that the poor man would reach the camp alive.

The day was now breaking, and we went on at a brisker pace, my young horse confirming me more and more in my good opinion of him, till, while stopping to let him drink in a splash of water, he all at once lay down and began rolling. I was not hurt, and the circumstance would not have been worth mentioning, had not the saees given as a reason for it, that the Turkomans fed their colts with buffaloe's milk, and that my horse had probably thus acquired both the fondness for water, and the folly of his foster mother. Certainly he seemed altogether unconscious of having done wrong, and imagined, perhaps, that the cold bath would be as agreeable to me as to himself; indeed, I gave him no reason to suppose the contrary, but shall in future watch him more closely on similar occasions.

The road for some miles from Futtehpur lies over an open plain, as level as any part of India, and seeming marked out by nature for the scene of a great battle which should decide the fate of the country. Here we were met by the Cutwal of Futtehpur, who, in much civility, had come out on horseback to pay his respects, attended by the usual up-country retinue of shield and spear. I could not help smiling as the thought occurred, how different from the "great man," whom he probably expected, he must have found me, on a horse, without attendants, or even saees, and hav-



ing on every part of my hat, jacket and trowsers, the muddy stains of the nullah. However, the interview passed with great propriety on all sides, but as I was still wet and cold, and his retinue could not possibly keep pace with me, I begged him to spare the compliment of accompanying me into the town.

Futtehpoor is a large place, with more appearance of prosperity than any town I have seen since Allahabad. It contains some tolerably good houses, and a very elegant little mosque, built within these few years by the nephews and heirs of the celebrated eunuch Almass Ali Khân, long minister to the Nawâb of Oude, and who held for many years the whole southern and western Dooab from Meerut to Allahabad in farm. He was remarkable for his wealth, his attachment to the English, and, as it is said, for his talents.

Futtehpoor is surrounded, like most of these towns, with tombs, in the midst of which our tents were pitched. Near us was a large but ruinous serai, which had, however, more of its interior detail perfect than most which I have seen in India. It corresponded in many respects with those of Turkey, and Crim Tartary,—a large court with two gateways opposite to each other, surmounted by towers not unlike those of a college, with a cloister or verandah all round raised about a foot from the ground, with a pukka floor, and having little fire-places contrived against the wall, just large enough to hold the earthen pitchers in which all the cookery of the country is carried on, and

behind this, a range of small and dark apartments a step lower than the verandah. No payment is required for lodging here, except a few cowries to the sweeper, while for a very few pice, grass and water will be furnished to a traveller's beasts, and wood and earthen pots to himself; for provisions the neighbouring bazar is ready. These serais are generally noble monuments of individual bounty, and some were in ancient times liberally endowed, and furnished supplies of gram<sup>1</sup>, milk, and grass gratis to the traveller, as well as shelter. Their foundations are most of them alienated, but even so far as shelter only is concerned, it is a very great blessing in this country, where the general poverty of the natives, and the prejudices of caste, forbid a stranger hoping for admission into any private dwelling. Even now, though ruinous, they are kept tolerably clean, and their benefit is so great to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who are not rich enough to possess tents, and occasionally to some even of those who are, that I rejoice to learn that their restoration is one of the objects proposed by Government in the application of the internal tolls to works of public improvement.

The only plague attendant on our present situation arose from the swarms of sturdy Mussulman beggars, calling themselves "Marabouts," or holy men, and living in the tombs around us. I gave alms to one old man who addressed me by the

<sup>1</sup> A kind of vetch on which horses are chiefly fed in India.—Ed

claim of being a fellow-servant of the same God, and had, in consequence, my ears deafened for half the morning by continued cries of supplication from people in the full possession of youth, health, and strength, who would not even have thanked me for less than half a rupee, and who had about as much sanctity in their appearance and demeanour as friar Tuck, or Fray Diavolo. At last the Arch-deacon went out, and talked to them in their own way, and they dispersed. Dinoo, to my surprise, arrived in camp about an hour after us, very materially better, and there seemed no doubt but that in a dhooly he would be able to proceed.

There were some hard showers during the day, and the night was so rainy, that though the morning of October 7th seemed rather more promising, I gave up all idea of attempting to stir the tents, and sent Mr. Corrie word to this effect. He called on me, however, to say that he had no doubt of being able, by the help of the Cutwal, to obtain hackeries from the town to carry the flies, which are the heaviest parts of the tents; that the camels would have no difficulty with the remainder, and that the loss of a day now would prevent our arriving in time for Sunday at Cawnpoor. I told him that all the natives said the day would be rainy; but he answered that he thought the clouds were breaking, and that the natives never were to be depended on when the question was about moving. Under these circumstances, I ordered the camels and baggage to be got ready, having first ascertained that there was a serai at Kuleaunpoor,

where we might get shelter should our tents be useless. The routees were gone on over-night. Mr. Lushington and I accordingly set out immediately, that we might get in before the morning grew hot, and a dismal ride we had! I had anticipated at least some showers, and was not discouraged by the first or second which fell. But by the time we had got something less than half-way, it set in for a thoroughly tropical wet day, with a fierce N.W. wind, and thunder and lightening, the rain falling in a continued torrent. It was in vain to stop, for we were already wet to the skin, and had indeed no shelter within reach, and we had only to keep our horses steadily to the storm, and to be thankful to God that it did not come on before we had daylight sufficient to see our way through a wild and flooded country, where the nullahs were already, in many places, as high as our horses' bellies.

After travelling about five miles in this way, and when we were still four from our halting-place, we fortunately overtook one of the palanquins, in which was a leathern bottle of brandy, which did us both infinite good. The road, too, was now better, and as his horse was fresher than mine, Mr. Lushington galloped on, in the hope of getting a fire lighted. I followed more leisurely, passing, to my concern, the greater part of our baggage on the road, and having, consequently, reason to apprehend that we should find no dry clothes ready for us. In fact, I found Mr. Lushington stripped to his flannel waistcoat, and cowering over a little fire of sticks and cow-dung, in a shed of very unpromis-

ing appearance, the ground having been by far too wet to enable our advanced party to pitch the routees, and the serai turning out, unfortunately, one of the worst and most ruinous of the kind. More brandy was not forthcoming, but we added sticks to the fire, and I ordered breakfast, for which, fortunately, the materials were arrived, while some of the advanced party of bearers, stripping themselves naked, volunteered to go back, and, by their fresh strength, help their companions to bring up the pet-tarahs with our clothes, more quickly. This answered well, as we had the satisfaction of finding, when they arrived, that they were really dry. Things looked now more promising; our horses and ourselves were under the common shelter of the ruinous cloister, with just room for a little table between them and the fire. A crowd of poor shivering servants was huddled round this on every side but that which we occupied; and another shed at some little distance was used by Mr. Corrie's khânsaman as cook-room, and, should they arrive, would serve as parlour and dressing-room for their party. But each successive detachment of the caravan, as they continued to drop in, gave, as might be expected, worse and worse accounts of the road. It was "knee-deep,"—it was "middle-deep,"—it was "half a spear's depth in water." Still the rain kept pouring on, but without thunder or wind; and as we looked from our shed on the swimming dung-hills of the serai, and the poor wet camels patiently standing or lying down among them, I thought what a whimsical contrast the scene

offered to the description in Irving's story of the "Stout Gentleman."

Our caravan continued to arrive during the day, which cleared up towards evening, but not time enough to prevent all our bedding from being hopelessly wet through. Mean time we were not quite without employment, since besides seeing our horses taken care of, we had all manner of complaints to adjudicate between the villagers, our servants and Sepoys, and two companies more of Sepoys who were also driven in to shelter. I could not help feeling very uncomfortable about the Corries and their children. The people who came up said they had obtained shelter in the house of a Zemindar, but whether a gig and palanquin could get through the waters which were between us, was more than we could form a judgment of. At length, just as we had given them up, and were sitting down to dinner, they arrived, happily all well, and having received a hospitable entertainment from the Zemindar in question, at whose house they had asked permission to boil a little gruel for the children, and who had immediately invited them into a comfortable verandah, and, though a Hindoo, sent to purchase them a fowl and currie. The Archdeacon expressed much unwillingness to eat these in his house, knowing, he said, how strong a prejudice would, a few years since, have been excited against such a step. But on his saying, "Oh do not let us pollute your house," the good man returned an answer which, Mr. Corrie observed, shewed, more than most

things, how fast caste was wearing away. "We have different customs, but are we not of the same flesh and blood?—My house is much honoured by your company."

When the Corries saw what sort of place they were come to, they at first regretted that they had not accepted the Zemindar's invitation to stay all night. His khânsaman, however, had managed matters for them better than could have been expected, and except that their apartment admitted the rain in places, it made about as good a bedroom as a common blacksmith's shed in England would have done, but clean, and very sufficient for the climate. Our palanquins made excellent beds, and we had so many unexpected comforts, my khânsaman having provided an excellent dinner of kid-soup and bouillé, and the chest of wine having come up, that we had abundant reason for thankfulness, which was increased by finding that our sick men were not worse for their journey.

It was evident, however, that the tents could not again be moved without a thorough drying, and as I had appointed Saturday morning for the confirmation at Cawnpoor, Mr. Lushington and I agreed with the bearers of our palanquins, for a trifling additional sum, to carry us next day, two marches in one, to that station, should the weather be such as to make it practicable. We left the tents, servants, and the two police-men whom we had brought from Allahabad, with the Corries, and set off ourselves after breakfast on the 8th of October. The day was fine, and though the roads were in a very

bad state, it was delightful to hear the mutual congratulations of our bearers and the villagers whom we passed, both parties full of thankfulness to God, and considering themselves, with apparent reason, as delivered from famine and all its horrors. One of these mutual felicitations, which the Archdeacon overheard the day before, was very interesting, as it was not intended for his ear, and was one of the strongest proofs I have met with of the satisfaction of the Hindoos with their rulers. "A good rain this for the bread," said one of the villagers to the other. "Yes," was the answer, "and a good government under which a man may eat bread in safety." While such a feeling prevails, we may have good hopes of the stability of our Indian Government.

In crossing a nuddee, which from a ford had become a ferry, we saw some characteristic groupes and occurrences; the price of passage in the boat was only a few cowries, but a number of country-folk were assembled, who could not, or would not, pay, and were now sitting patiently by the brink, waiting till the torrent should subside, or, what was far less likely to happen, till the boatmen should take compassion on them. Many of these poor people came up to beg me to make the boatmen take them over, one woman pleading that her "malik our bucher," (literally master, or lord, and young one) had run away from her, and she wanted to overtake them; another that she and her two grand-children were following her son, who was a Havildar in the regiment which we had passed just



before; and some others, that they had been intercepted the previous day by this torrent, and had neither money nor food till they reached their homes. Four anas purchased a passage for the whole crowd, of perhaps 30 people, and they were really very thankful. I bestowed two anas more on the poor deserted woman, and a whimsical scene ensued. She at first took the money with eagerness, then, as if she recollected herself, she blushed very deeply, and seemed much confused, then bowed herself to my feet, and kissed my hands, and at last said, in a very modest tone, "it was not fit for so great a man as I was, to give her two anas, and she hoped that I and the 'chota Sahib,' (little lord) would give her a rupee each!" She was an extremely pretty little woman, but we were inexorable, partly, I believe, in my own case at least, because we had only just rupees enough to take us to Cawnpoor, and to pay for our men's provisions; however, I gave her two more anas, my sole remaining stock of small change.

When this was all done, the Jemautdar of the neighbouring village came to ask for the usual certificate of his having rendered us assistance. I wrote it out for him on the top of my palanquin, having provided myself for such purposes with paper and Sir Thomas Acland's inkstand, when a new scene followed. He was very grateful for the good word I gave him, but he had a brother, a fine young man, now in the service of the Peishwa Bajee Row, in the neighbouring town of Betourah, but who was anxious to get into the Company's

service, "would I have the goodness to give him a recommendation to the judge Sahib of Betourah." "I do not know the judge Sahib of Betourah." "But Huzoor (your worship) is Malik of the land, and your Firmaun will be obeyed." "Suppose I could do your brother any good, I do not know him, how shall I recommend him?" "Huzoor may believe me when I tell him that my brother is one of the best men in the world!" "But I am only a traveller, and have no power." "Huzoor is pleased to say so but" in short I could hardly get him away from the palanquin side, particularly as I did not choose to set off till I had seen the poor people embark, for whose passage I had paid. We then parted, the Jemautdar still declaring that he would follow me to Cawnpoor, and bring his brother with him.

The natives of India seem to attach very great importance to a written recommendation by an European, or person in a public station, in which, as in many other points, they strongly resemble the Russians. The whole scene which I have described, *mutatis mutandis*, (crucifixes for Brahminical strings, &c.) might have occurred at a ferry on the Don or the Dnieper. The mixture of simplicity and cunning, the importunity, the patience and the flattery, seem to belong almost equally to the peasantry of both countries, or more accurately speaking, perhaps, to the state of society in which they are placed.

We arrived between three and four at Searsoul, the station half-way between Kuleaupoor and

Cawnpoor, a moderate sized village, with some neat houses, and a handsome serai. Our people, however, were so much tired with wading up to their middles in water, that we bade them get their dinners, and go to sleep till midnight, when we should again set off. We ourselves did the same as far as dinner was concerned, and after a little walk round the village, which was completely insulated by the inundation, retired to our palanquins, which, for security, we had had carried into the court-yard of the Tanrah, or police-office. We also engaged four mussaulchies, less for their light, the harvest-moon being sufficient, than to serve as guides through the flooded country.

*October 9.*—The night and morning were again fine, and the waters much abated. Still we were seven hours going sixteen miles, and I had the disappointment to find, on arriving at Mr. Williams's house, that despairing of my reaching Cawnpoor in such weather, he had sent round to say that the Confirmation was postponed. It might, however, I found, be easily arranged for Sunday morning, and in the hospitality, cleanliness, and comfort of his house, we found abundant compensation for our recent labours.

During my stay at Cawnpoor not many events occurred worth noticing. On Sunday the 11th, I confirmed upwards of eighty persons, a considerable proportion of whom afterwards received the Sacrament. I visited on Monday the new military hospital, and regimental school of the 16th Lancers, both of which are in excellent order. There is one

ward of the former furnished with tubes of a new invention, for the admission and refrigeration of air, which is introduced through two great valves, like gigantic chimneys, with cowls on them, and let off through the roof by a multitude of small iron tunnels, with heads like ventilators. It is said to answer tolerably, but not better than tatties, which are here hardly more expensive. Externally, the machinery is a great deformity to the building. The regimental school is on the national system, and conducted extremely well. An institution of a wider scope and loftier pretensions was established some years ago in Cawnpoor, for the children both of Europeans and natives, which obtained a very liberal subscription from the English residents, and has since received from Government a handsome grant of 400 s. rupees per month. It has an excellent house, with good school-rooms, an English master and mistress at a large salary, and a Persian moonshee, but I found it attended but by few European and half-caste, and still fewer native children, in deplorable want of books and other similar supplies, and with a master who had apparently been brought in as a party measure, who was previously altogether inexperienced in the improved system of education, and actually declined to be examined in any of the points most necessary to his usefulness. Except their catechism, which they said well, there was nothing satisfactory in the appearance, numbers, or proficiency of the European children. The native boys were learning Lindley Murray's grammar, without any tolerable know-

ledge of the language in which it is written, and had for their single class-book Joyce's scientific dialogues, which they stammered over by rote, but could none of them construe into Hindoostanee. I asked if they had any Hindoostanee books, and could read them into English? If they learned geography, mathematics, or even wrote English exercises by double translation or otherwise? Nothing of the sort seemed to have entered the master's head. He taught them to write a fair hand, and to work ridiculous and useless sums in fellowship, the double rule of three, and this was all his ambition. Archdeacon Corrie kindly undertook, during his stay at Cawnpore, to put him into a better train, and I wrote out a list of books, which I recommended to the committee to supply him with, as well as some of the primary and simplest elements of Bell's system of education. Thus, I hope, things will be amended; at present they are bad enough, and when compared with the establishment at Benares, not at all creditable to those who have employed more ample means with so little judgment.

Cawnpore is a place of great extent, the cantonments being six miles from one extremity to the other, but of very scattered population. Its population, however, abstracted from the civil and military establishments, is still considerable; there are many handsome mosques, and the view of the town from the course gives quite the idea of a city. The European houses are most of them large and roomy, standing in extensive compounds, and built

one story high with sloping roofs, first thatched, and then covered with tiles, a roof which is found better than any other to exclude the heat of the sun, and to possess a freedom from the many accidents to which a mere thatched roof is liable. I received much civility and kindness from General Martindell and the other military officers, and especially from Colonel Lumsdaine, who took great pains in getting our party all which was required from the Commissariat.

Of the climate of Cawnpoor I had heard a very unfavourable account, which, however, was not confirmed by the residents, who said that during the rains it was a very desirable situation, that the cold months were remarkably dry and bracing, and that the hot winds were not worse than in most other parts of the Dooab. The great inconveniences of the place are, as they represent it, its glare and dust, defects, however, which are in a considerable degree removed already by the multitude of trees which they are planting in all directions. There is no regular Christian Church. Divine service is performed alternate mornings and evenings in a thatched but convenient bungalow, nearly in the centre of the station, and in a riding-house adjoining the cavalry barracks. Government has sanctioned the building of two Churches, but on a scale, I am told, of so rigid inspection and economy, that nobody will undertake the contract. The shops in Cawnpoor are large, and, though far from showy, contain some good things, which are sold very little dearer than in Calcutta. The ne-

cessaries of life are barely half the price which they are there, and an excellent house may be rented for eighty or ninety rupees monthly. On the whole, it is in many respects one of the most considerable towns which I have seen in northern India, but being of merely modern origin, it has no fine ancient buildings to shew; the European architecture is confined to works of absolute necessity only, and marked by the greatest simplicity, and few places of its size can be named where there is so absolutely nothing to see.

## CHAPTER XV

### CAWNPOR TO LUCKNOW.

*Entrance into the King of Oude's Territories—Increase of Guards—King's Suwarra—Admeen—Entrance into Lucknow—Court Circular—Narrow Streets—Armed Inhabitants—Prime Minister—Rhinoce-roses—Dil-Koushar—Constantia—Deceased King's Wives—Breakfast at the Palace—Distribution of Money at the Gates—King breakfasts at the Residency—Private Details of the Government—Christians at Lucknow.*

WE left Cawnpoor on Monday afternoon, the 18th of October, having sent our baggage and tents early in the morning to the first station, which is only six miles from the northern bank of the Ganges, the passage of which, by camels and elephants, usually takes up a considerable space of time. The Ganges is still a noble stream; its width, at the usual place of ferrying, is, I should think, not far from a mile and a half, but it is divided at this season by a large sand-bank, and the water is in many places shallow. Its banks on both sides are flat and ugly, but the southern side has the advantage in its numerous bungalows, surrounded by their respective gardens. We had heard much of the misgoverned and desolate state of the kingdom of Oude; boats had been recently menaced, in their way to Cawnpoor, by some of the villagers adjoining the river, and my guard had been increased, without any application, from me, from thirty to



forty-five Sepoys, by the obliging care of General Martindell. The immediate vicinity of the river we certainly found uncultivated, and the peasants who passed us here were still more universally loaded with defensive and offensive weapons than those of the Company's territories in the Dooab. We found them, however, peaceable and courteous, though our escort was mostly gone forward, and Mr. Lushington and I had cantered on by ourselves, leaving the remainder of the party behind, and, in fact, had repeatedly to ask our way as the evening closed in.

When we arrived at our tents, a letter was put into my hands from Mr. Ricketts, the Resident at Lucknow, stating that the King of Oude had sent a purveyor, or collector of taxes, (I hardly know how to translate the word "Aâlmeen,") with two chobdars, and ten "suwarrrs," or horsemen, to obtain supplies for us during our march. These persons, however, together with Mr. Ricketts's own messenger, had expected us at Onnaw, a village four miles further on, but a supply had been obtained by their authority of all which was necessary for our present encampment.

*October 19.*—We started early on two elephants, which, after all, the good-natured exertions of Captain Lumsdaine had obtained for us, though not till I had purchased a second horse for my journey, a purchase, indeed, which most of my friends tell me, in such a journey, I shall not find superfluous. The elephants are extremely convenient in the commencement of a march, while

it is yet too dark to ride on horseback with comfort; and by sending on our horses half-way to wait for us, we have the relief and pleasure of a ride during the pleasantest time of the morning. It was very dark, and the road excessively bad, through a country naturally broken and marshy, and now rendered almost impassable by the recent rains.

In the village of Onnaw, which we reached about half-past four in the morning, it was very difficult to find our way, and nobody was awake except one poor foot-traveller, who, himself a stranger, had sat down on the brink of a large pool, in which, apparently the only track visible terminated, and, wrapped up in his mantle, his sword and shield under him, and at intervals blowing the fusee of his long matchlock gun, was waiting, as he said, for day, and prepared for any possible attack which might in the mean time be made on him. We did not like to wait so long, and began knocking at the door of the nearest house, a cottage rather larger than ordinary. No answer was returned, and my spearmen were at once going to break the door, or rather gate, for it was built round a small court-yard. I forbade this step, however, on which one of the followers of the elephant crept like a cat up the mud wall, and dropped down inside of the little enclosure, calling loudly for a guide to shew the way. He was received with a volley of abuse in a female voice, which was not at all calmed by my assurance that she had nothing to fear, and that, if her husband

would come and shew us the way, he should be well paid for his trouble. She declared her husband was not at home, but at last, as she said, merely to get rid of us, herself vouchsafed to open the gate, and give us some few directions. Our road we found, in fact, lay through the pool I have mentioned; and she said, if we kept well to the right hand, without going beyond an old tree, it was probable we should find safe footing. With these directions we were fain to be content, and they carried us on safely.

We wondered all this time that we heard nothing of the King's people, or Mr. Ricketts's servant; shortly after, however, as the day dawned, we saw the former galloping after us. They were mounted on very tolerable horses, and armed with sabres like the suwarrs of the Company's magistrates, but extremely ill-dressed, and more like thieves than peace-officers or soldiers. The Aûmeen, and Mr. Ricketts's servant had, they said, gone on to prepare things for our reception at the encampment, where we arrived about eight o'clock, and found it in a grove of trees, as usual, near a half-ruined village, but surrounded with a greater extent of well-cultivated ground than we were prepared to expect in this neighbourhood.

The Aûmeen here called on me, and offered his nuzzur. He was a decent elderly man, looking like an Arab merchant, and was attended by two of the King's chobdars, also respectable men, and Mr. Ricketts's servant, one of the tallest and most powerful men I ever saw. They were followed by a

troop of country people with the usual supplies, which were, however, yielded very grudgingly, and with bitter lamentations, all the crowd, particularly the women, declaring that they were fleeced to the last penny. They were apparently well satisfied, and certainly a good deal surprised however, on my telling them that I should pay for the fowls and milk, and give a gratuity of two rupees among the wood and grass-cutters; the whole expense only came to three rupees and a half, so cheaply may a great deal of oppression be remedied in this country!

Nothing remarkable occurred during our continuance here, except the care with which the sarbans, and saeeses, brought all the animals, and every thing which could be stolen, immediately under the eye of the sentries. On my observing this circumstance, the reply was immediate, "We are in the Nawâb Vizier's country." Hardly any, even of his own people, call him King, and I must say his name seems to be treated very disrespectfully under all denominations.

The waters were so deep a few days ago in the rivers which we had passed during this day's march, that palanquins were floated over by the help of Kedgerees-pots, eight of which were competent to support the vehicle, with its contents. It was, however, no very agreeable way of passing a pool of deep water, pushed on by people swimming.

*October 20.*—The journey this morning was of seven very long coss, through bad roads, with a deep river, and several gullies made by the recent rain. Our station was a large walled village, with

gates, and bazar in a much handsomer style than usual, but the walls bearing marks of decay, and many of the houses roofless, though the shops were neat, and the appearance of the people comfortable and thriving. All was quiet when we arrived; but the servants who had gone on before with the breakfast tents, had found the place in a state of siege. A large sum of money, said to be 30,000 rupees, on its way to the treasury at Lucknow, had attracted a number of the neighbouring peasantry, who were assembled outside the walls with their weapons, waiting for the departure of the treasure, while sentries were posted by the escort on all the old towers, and the gates were fast closed. One of our servants applied for a passage in vain; the warders were civil, but peremptory, pointing to the lurking enemy, and asking how they should endanger the treasure of the "refuge of the world." At last, on more of our Sepoys coming up, and finding that we were strong enough to protect them, they gladly opened their gates, and the armed peasantry dispersed themselves. Our camp was fixed beyond the town, near a large pool of water, amid some tall trees, and having at a little distance a grove surrounded by a high wall with a gothic gateway, the garden, as we were told, of a former minister of Oude, named Nawâll Sing, who had built the village, and from whom it derived its name.

Adjoining the pool we saw a crowd of people assembled round a fallen elephant; apprehending that it was one of our own, I urged my horse to

the spot. On asking, however, whose it was, a bystander said it belonged to "the asylum of the world," and had fallen down from weakness, which was not surprising, since instead of an allowance of twenty-five rupees a month, necessary for the keep of an elephant, I was told that these poor creatures, all but those in the immediate stables of his majesty, had for some time back, owing to the dilapidated state of the finances, and the roguery of the commissariat, received only five ! They had now given the wretched animal a cordial, and were endeavouring to raise it on its legs, but in vain. It groaned pitifully, but lay quite helpless, and was in fact a mountain of skin and bone. Another elephant of a very large size, and in somewhat better plight, was brought to assist, and I was much struck with the almost human expression of surprise, alarm, and perplexity in his countenance, when he approached his fallen companion. They fastened a chain round his neck and the body of the sick beast, and urged him in all ways, by encouragement and blows, to drag him up, even thrusting spears into his flanks. He pulled stoutly for a minute, but on the first groan his companion gave he stopped short, turned fiercely round with a loud roar, and with his trunk and fore feet began to attempt to loosen the chain from his neck. In fact, his resistance and refusal to sanction their proceedings were so decisive, that an immediate cry arose of "le-jao," take him away, in which I very cordially joined. I asked them if they could get nothing which the fallen animal was likely to eat, urging that weak as

he was, even if they did get him to rise, he would certainly fall again. They seemed sensible of this, and two of them ran for a great bundle of greens and a pot of water; the greens he ate readily enough, but refused the water, which they accounted for by saying he supposed it was physic. He was said to be very old, which the size of his tusks confirmed. Among the groupe thus assembled were some of the tallest and finest men I have ever seen here, or indeed in Europe. All the crowd were civil and communicative, and I could not help thinking that the peasants of Oude, in every thing but honesty, bore a high rank among those of their own class throughout the world.

In the course of the day a messenger, mounted on a fast trotting camel, (a style of conveyance for couriers very usual in these provinces,) arrived from Mr. Ricketts, his saddle perched high on the top of the hump, his carbine and sabre hanging down on each side, and guiding the animal not with a bridle, but with a small cord fastened to a ring through his nostrils. The message from Mr. Ricketts was that his own aid-de-camp, with one of the King's, would meet me next morning, at about six miles from Lucknow, and that if I chose they would bring with them spare elephants for our party. This was fortunate, since on enquiry we found that we had still nearly ten coss between us and the Residency, a greater distance than our animals or foot attendants could get through without some rest, or before the middle of the day. Mr. Ricketts's offer, however, made the arrangement easy.

*October 21.*—We set out at half-past three o'clock, and for some time lost our way, there being no other road than such tracks as are seen across ploughed fields in England, the whole country being cultivated, though not inclosed, and much intersected by small rivers and nullahs. The King's suwarra were, I found, for show only, since they knew nothing about the road, and as for defence I should have been very sorry to be obliged to rely on them. I was pleased, however, and surprised, after all which I had heard of Oude, to find the country so completely under the plough, since were the oppression so great as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population, or so much industry. Yet that considerable anarchy and mis-rule exist, the events of yesterday afforded a sufficient reason for supposing.

The bulk of the population is still evidently Hindoo. All the villages have pagodas, while many are without mosques; by far the greater part of the people who pass us on the road, have the marks of caste on their foreheads, and it being now a Hindoo festival, the drumming, braying, and clattering of their noisy music was heard from every little collection of houses which we passed through. At length, and sooner than we expected, we saw a considerable "Suwarree," or retinue, of elephants and horses approaching us, and were met by Captain Salmon and the King of Oude's officer, the latter followed by a train of elephants splendidly equipped with silver howdahs, and sufficient to accommodate



more than three times the number of our party. A good many suwarra, in red and yellow, followed Captain Salmon, and a most irregular and picturesque body of infantry, with swords and shields, long matchlock guns, and other guns of every sort and size, spears like spits, composed, sheath and all, of iron, and some silvered over, large triangular green banners, and every thing most unlike the appearance of European war, made up the cortège of Meer Hussun Khân. The whole formed a stage procession of the most interesting and shewy kind, in which there was no regularity, and little real magnificence, for the dresses of the men and trappings of the Elephants were all the worse for wear, and the silver howdahs did not bear a close examination, but where flowing and picturesque dresses, glowing colours, numbers, and the majestic size of the noble animals which form the most prominent part of the groupe, produced an effect more pleasing to the eye of a poet or an artist, than the sprucest parade of an English review.

While I was changing elephants, a decent looking man stepped up to me, and begged to know my name and titles at full length, in order, as he said "to make a report of them to the asylum of the world." I found on enquiry, that he was the writer of the court circular, a much more minute task, and one considered of far more importance here than in Europe. Every thing which occurs in the family of the King himself, the Resident, the chief officers of state, or any stranger of rank who may arrive, is carefully noted and sent round in

writing. And I was told that the exact hour at which I rose, the sort of breakfast I ate, the visits I paid or received, and the manner i. e. which I passed my morning, would all be retailed by the King's chobdars, for the information of their master, whose own most indifferent actions, however, are with equal fairness written down for Mr. Rickett's inspection. As I mounted my new elephant, the same sort of acclamation of "Bismillah! Ullah Acbar! Ullah Kureen!" was made by the attendants, as I had heard on the Nawâb of Dacca's arrival and departure. It is, I find, the ancient Mus-sulman fashion, and during their stay in Lucknow, my chobdars and bearers learnt it also from those of the King and the Resident. How long they will continue it I do not know. It seems a very pious custom, and one which I should not wish to check, though I certainly should not allow them to adopt the proclamation, which followed on this occasion, of my name and title, so mangled as name never was before.

We now proceeded, three elephants abreast, that on which Mr. Lushington and I rode, in the centre, Meer Hussun Khân on the right, and Captain Salmon on the left, with the motly multitude before and the spare elephants behind. The Corries had fallen back, being unable to keep up with us. We thus advanced into Lucknow, through a very considerable population, and crowded mean houses of clay, with the filthiest lanes between them that I ever went through, and so narrow that we were often obliged to reduce our front, and even a single

elephant did not always pass very easily. A swarm of beggars occupied every angle and the steps of every door, and all, or nearly all the remaining population were, to my surprise, as much loaded with arms as the inhabitants of the country, a circumstance which told ill for the police of the town, but added considerably to its picturesque effect. Grave men in palanquins, counting their beads, and looking like Moullahs, had all two or three sword and buckler lacquies attending on them. People of more consequence, on their elephants, had each a suwarree of shield, spear, and gun, little inferior to that by which we were surrounded, and even the lounging people of the lower ranks in the streets and shop-doors, had their shields over their shoulders, and their swords carried sheathed in one hand.

I recollected Sir W. Scott's picture of the streets of London in "the Fortunes of Nigel," but I should apprehend that Lucknow offered at this moment a more warlike exterior than our own metropolis ever did during its most embroiled and troublesome periods. As we advanced, the town began to improve in point of buildings, though the streets remained equally narrow and dirty. We passed some pretty mosques and some large houses, built like the native houses in Calcutta, and the bazars seemed well filled, so far as I could distinguish from the height at which I sat, and the general narrowness of the area. At last we suddenly entered a very handsome street indeed, wider than the High-street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the colour of its build-

ings, and the general form and Gothic style of the greater part of them. We saw but little of it, however, as we immediately turned up through some folding-gates into a sort of close, with good-looking houses and small gardens round it, and a barrack and guard-house at its entrance. One of these houses I was told belonged to the Resident, another was his banqueting-house, containing apartments for his guests, and a third very pretty upper-roomed house in a little garden was pointed out as that which the King had assigned to receive me and my party. Here, therefore, our companions took their leave, and Mr. Lushington and I found ourselves in a very prettily arranged and well-furnished dwelling, with excellent stables and accommodations for our numerous followers. It was the house usually assigned to the King's physician, now absent, and was extremely well suited to my purpose, both as being near the Residency, and sufficiently detached from it to allow me to have some part of my mornings to myself. The Corries arrived in about half-an-hour, and shortly afterwards we were summoned to breakfast at the Residency, where we found so large a party as completely to give the idea of a watering-place. After breakfast I was told the prime-minister was come to call on me, and Mr. Ricketts introduced us to each other in form. He is a dark, harsh, hawked-nosed man, with an expression of mouth which seems to imply habitual self-command struggling with a naturally rough temper. He is, I understand, exceedingly unpopular. He was originally khânsaman to the

present King, when heir-apparent and in disgrace with his father, Saadut Ali. His house is the most splendid in Lucknow, and his suwarree exceeds that of the King, who is said to be so attached to him as to have given himself entirely into his hands. His manners, though not his appearance, are those of a gentleman; he is said to be a man of undoubted courage, and to be a pleasant person to do business with, except that too much confidence must not be placed in him. He was very civil to me, and very tolerant of my bad Hindoostance, but I saw that he was nursing some ill-humour towards Mr. Ricketts, and found at length that offence had been taken because Lord Amherst had not himself written to the king to introduce me, as had, he said, been the constant custom with other Governors General whenever any person of a certain rank in the country visited Lucknow. We explained to him that my regular progress was through those stations where there were Chaplains, and that, therefore, it was probable that Lord Amherst did not know that I intended to visit Lucknow, and he seemed satisfied. Possibly Lord Amherst was not aware that such an etiquette was usual, and in my own case it was certainly ignorance which prevented my asking for such credentials<sup>1</sup>. However the minister seemed satisfied, his

<sup>1</sup> The following letter from the Governor General was subsequently sent to the King of Oude.

“TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF OUDE.

“*Written 10th December, 1824.*

“I have lately been informed, by a letter from the Lord Bishop of

dark countenance cleared up, and he said that the introduction of their friend the Resident was quite enough for them, and that the King hoped to make Lucknow not unpleasant to me. The remaining conversation was about the cities and countries which I had visited, how I liked the first sight of Lucknow, and concluded with the minister's inviting me, on the part of the King, to breakfast with him the Monday following.

This is the usual way of being presented at this court, and the reason given for not naming an earlier day, was that the King had a bad feverish cold. I found, indeed, half Lucknow laid up with the same influenza, though of a slighter degree, with that which had prevailed so universally in Calcutta during the rains. In fact, I know not how, the sight of the town, its various villainous smells, and its close population, gave me the idea of a very

Calcutta, of the gracious reception which his Lordship experienced from your Majesty, and of the gratification which he derived from his visit to your Majesty's Court of Lucknow.

"I had no opportunity of making known, previously, to your Majesty, the Bishop's intention of visiting Lucknow, as his proceeding to that capital was a sudden thought, and he had not beforehand contemplated that the course of his public duties would allow of his deviating so far from his proposed route. This being the case, I feel myself now doubly called on to address your Majesty, both in explanation of the above apparent omission, and to offer my sincere acknowledgments for the flattering and cordial reception given by your Majesty to the head of the British Church in India, of which the Bishop writes in the warmest and most grateful terms.

"Signed)

AMHERST.

(A true Copy)

"(Signed)

A. STIRLING,

"Persian Secretary to Government."—ED.

unhealthy place, though I found that the old residents disclaim the imputation. I felt much chagrined, on more accounts than one, to find that Mr. Rickett's marriage could not take place before the 1st of November; if this were out of the question, however, it was very unlikely I should be able to leave it before that time, from the different things that were to be done. Under these circumstances it was a satisfaction to me to find that, if a week's notice was given, I should be sure of a numerous attendance at the Sacrament,—that many persons had been asking about Confirmation, who only needed some days to prepare themselves, and make up their minds to the ceremony, and that a full share of those other opportunities of usefulness, might be expected which I had found at Allahabad, Monghyr, and other places where there was, as here, no resident Chaplain.

The great detentions which I have already met with have not only thrown me much behind the reckoning which I formed from my conversation with Colonel Cunliffe, but, joined to the experience which I have already had of marching, have obliged me to calculate on a much slower progress hereafter, than I looked forward to when first that reckoning was made. In so long a journey as this, I find it evident, that a Sunday halt is not only advisable in a religious point of view, but necessary for the animals and men who accompany me. To be useful I must arrange my stay in each station so as to include a Sunday, and shall thus be often kept, besides these halting days, several others,

which I should have employed, more to my liking, in pressing onwards towards the meeting to which I look forward with daily increasing earnestness. To go Dák any considerable part of the way would be a great additional expence, and, it so happens that it would save me very little time, since I must still adjust my stay in the different stations according to Sundays, and wait for my servants and baggage to rejoin me. As, to the best of my calculation, it seems very improbable that I can reach Surat before the beginning of April, I was well pleased to learn from Mr. Hyde, one of the party at the Residency, who had recently come across from Bombay, that travelling in Guzerât was not only practicable but pleasant till that time. Mr. Hyde is a great traveller, and the only Englishman whom I have heard of, except Lord Valencia, who has visited India from motives, exclusively, of science and curiosity, since the country has been in our possession. All others, however science might engross their attention, have, like Leyden and Sir W. Jones, had some official and ostensible object, whereas this gentleman is merely making a tour. He left England seven years ago, with the intention of being absent a few months, and has been since rambling on, without plan, and chiefly as his course has been determined by the motions of others. Having attached himself to Mr. Barles, I believe in Spain, he accompanied him into Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and Arabia. Mr. Rich enticed him from Palmyra on to Babylon and Bagdad. From Bussorah he came to Bombay, touching in his way at



some of the ports of Oman and Yemen, in the hope of finding an eligible opportunity of returning home by sea; and then, finding himself in a new and interesting country, determined to make the tour of India. Added to his zeal for seeing new countries, he has an uncommon share of good-nature, and cheerfulness, and is exactly the person whom I could conceive Bankes selecting as his travelling companion.

I do not know that there is any use in writing a regular journal of the manner in which I passed my time at Lucknow. There was, as must be the case, a good deal of sameness, in morning rides, evening sight-seeing, late breakfasts, and later dinners. There were several pleasant people among the crowd, and I was daily more and more pleased with my host and future hostess, and from him I obtained much information as to the manners and customs of northern India. The King very good-naturedly sent an elephant every morning for Mr. Lushington and myself, and a chariot for the Corries, that we might see the sights of Lucknow to more advantage. There is a menagerie, with a greater number of scarce and curious animals, but in far worse order, than that at Barrackpore; and on the other side of the river Goomty, in a well-wooded park, is a large collection of different varieties of cows, camels, and deer, and five or six very large rhinoceroses, the first animals of the kind I ever saw, and of which I found that prints and drawings had given me a very imperfect conception. They are more bulky animals, and of a

darker colour, than I had supposed, and the thickness of the folds of their impenetrable skin much surpasses all which I had expected. These at Lucknow are gentle and quiet animals, except that one of them has a feud with horses. They seem to propagate in captivity without reluctance, and I should conceive might be available to carry burthens as well as the elephant, except that, as their pace is still slower than his, their use could only be applicable to very great weights, and very gentle travelling. These have sometimes had howdahs on them, and were once fastened in a carriage, but only as an experiment which was never followed up. There is, on the same side of the river, a poultry-yard of beautiful pigeons; and on the river itself is a steam-boat, a vessel fitted up like a brig of war, and other things which show the King to be fond of mechanical inventions. He has, indeed, a very skilful mechanist, an English officer, in his service, and is himself said to know more of the science, and of the different branches of philosophy connected with it, than could be expected in a person who understands no European language.

Another pleasant ride is to "Dil-koushar," Heart's Delight, a small summer palace of the King's, about three miles from the city. The house is small and ugly, with a high front like a grenadier's cap, and two low wings, like some of the old French and German chateaus. It is said to be prettily arranged and furnished inside, but this I did not see.

The park is extensive, and some parts of it ex-

tremely pretty, being sufficiently wild and jungly to offer a picturesque variety, and in parts sufficiently open for air and exercise, as well as to show off its deer and neelghaus to advantage. Some parts of it put me in mind of the few remaining glades of Needwood forest. There are not only neelghaus and the common Indian deer, but some noble red deer in this park, which contribute much, with a broad and excellent drive through it, and the form of its lodge, to give it an English air, which, however, is from time to time destroyed by the tall jungle grass, with its beautiful silver tufts, and the monkeys. These, as well as all which I have yet seen in this country, resemble the corpulent one which I described on the banks of the Pudda in every particular, except that of wanting a tail, which he, I suppose, had lost by some accident. Though they seem better adapted for climbing than running, they are tolerably swift on the ground. I have more than once taken them at first for Pariar dogs. They are very tame, never being shot at or injured, and are not, I think, the lively frolicsome animal which they are in Europe supposed to be. There is a sort of cage in the middle of the park, where they are fed, at least where some gram is thrown to them to scramble for once in two or three days, whether founded by the King or some pious Hindoo I know not. I suspect the latter, because the people who keep it are Fakirs, and beg, and because there is a statue of Hunimán in front of it.

Another popular drive is to Constantia, a very

large and most whimsical house and grounds, in the worst possible taste, but displaying in its outline and some parts of its arrangements, an eccentric and uneducated genius, built by the late General Martin, a Frenchman, and originally a common soldier, who rose by good fortune more than any brilliant services, to the first rank in the Company's army. His tomb is in one of the cellars, a marble altar-shaped sarcophagus, with a very modest inscription, and a bust also of white marble. It is surrounded by four figures of grenadiers as large as life, with their arms reversed, in the elegant attitude used in military funerals, and the whole would have had an extremely good effect, had not the grenadiers, which, it is said, Martin meant to have been of marble also, been paltry plaster figures, painted after nature in red coats! Whose taste this has been I could not learn<sup>1</sup>.

There are one or two other very English-looking country houses near Lucknow, all, I believe, the property of the King, and it may be said that from the Residency all the way down the principal street, and afterward through the park of Dil-Koushar, and the neighbouring drives, Lucknow has more resemblance to some of the smaller European capitals (Dresden for instance) than any thing which I have seen in India. The King's troops, besides the irregular gentry, of whom I saw a specimen on entering the city, are dressed in the same way that

<sup>1</sup> All the furniture of the house was sold on General Martin's death, and the looking-glasses and lustres were purchased by the Company to ornament the Government-house in Calcutta —ED.

the British Sepoys used to be twenty years ago, and as they are represented in Kerr Porter's "Storming of Seringapatam." They are armed with muskets and bayonets, under British officers, and not ill-disciplined, but their numbers are not more than are required for the usual purposes of parade and mounting sentries. His horse-guards are fine tall men, and well-mounted, but are in discipline and military appearance a little, and but a little, better than those which attend the Nawâb of Dacca. The British subsidiary force, which is at the disposal of the Resident, is, by a strange choice, placed in a cantonment five miles from the town, separated by the broad and rapid stream of the Goomty, where there is indeed a fine old bridge, but one which might in a few minutes be rendered impassable by any force without a regular siege, so that in case of a commotion in the city, either King or Resident would have to rely entirely on the single company which is always on guard at the Residency, but which would be as nothing when opposed to such an armed population as that of Lucknow. That they have never yet been exposed to this danger seems a sufficient proof of the quiet disposition of the people, as well as of the opinion which they entertain of the supposed stability of the Company's empire; yet the English, both at Lucknow and Cawnpoor, often spoke of the anarchical condition, the frequent affrays, the hatred of the European and Christian name, the robberies and murders by which this city is distinguished, and I was cautioned expressly, by more people than

one, never to go into the populous parts of the city except on an elephant, and attended by some of the Resident's or the King's chuprassees. It so happened that the morning before this counsel was given, Mr. Lushington and I had gone on horseback through almost the whole place, along streets and alleys as narrow and far dirtier than those of Benares, and in a labyrinth of buildings which obliged us to ask our way at almost every turn. So far from having chuprassees, we had, as it happened, but one saees between us, and he as much a stranger as ourselves, yet we found invariable civility and good nature, people backing their carts and elephants to make room for us, and displaying on the whole a far greater spirit of hospitality and accommodation than two foreigners would have met with in London. One old man only, when my horse shewed considerable reluctance to pass an elephant, said, shaking his head in a sort of expostulating tone, "this is not a good road for sahibs." Some of the instances, indeed, which were related of Europeans being insulted and assaulted in the streets and neighbourhood of Lucknow, were clearly traced to insolent or overbearing conduct on the part of the complainants themselves; and though of course there are bad and worthless people every where, though where every body is armed, and there is no efficient police, street-brawls will be less infrequent than in cities more fortunately circumstanced, and though by night narrow streets ill-watched and unlighted must be dangerous, I am not disposed to think that the people of Oude are habitually ferc

cious or blood-thirsty, or that they are influenced by any peculiar animosity against the English or the Christian name. It is certain, however, that they have not a good character, and that in no part of the country should valueable property be trusted in their way without proper precaution. I had heard of some travellers having been menaced by the villagers on the Oude bank of the Ganges a short time before, and when, on leaving Lucknow, I ordered my mate-bearer, who had staid with me after the tents had set off, to follow, as I could do without him, he pleaded (though he had a spear) that he was afraid to go alone. Abdullah laughed at this, but afterwards went very gravely to examine into the state of the pistols, and was careful at night to bring them to my bed-head, observing, that "in this country a man does not trust his own father." This, however, is a digression. I return to Lucknow, and its public buildings.

The Minister's house is a very large pile of building, in a bad part of the town, and both in architecture and situation, a good deal resembling the house of the Mullich family in Calcutta. There are many stately khâns, and some handsome mosques and pagodas scattered in different corners of these wretched alleys, but the most striking buildings in Lucknow are, the tombs of the late Nawâb Saadut Ali, and of the mother of the present king, the gate of Constantinople ("Roumi Durwazu,") and the "Imambara," or cathedral. The Imambara consists of two courts, rising with a steep ascent one above the other. It contains, be-

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IMAMBATA, AND GATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

sides a splendid mosque, a college for instruction in Mussulman law, apartments for the religious establishment maintained here, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder, Asuphud Dowlah. The whole is in a very noble style of eastern Gothic, and when taken in conjunction with the Roumi Durwazu which adjoins it, (of which I add a sketch from memory,) I have never seen an architectural view which pleased me more from its richness and variety, as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principal features. The details a good deal resemble those of Eaton<sup>1</sup>, but the extent is much greater and the parts larger. On the whole it is, perhaps, most like the Kremlin, but both in splendour and taste my old favourite falls very short of it. Close to this fine group, is a large and handsome, but dull and neglected-looking pile, which is the palace or prison appropriated to the unfortunate widows and concubines of deceased sovereigns. Some ladies are still there, as it is said, who belonged to Asuphud Dowlah. Those of Vizier Ali and Saadut Ali are, naturally, many of them alive, though they must mostly be in years. An Indian King, who allows his elephants to be starved, is, I fear, not very likely to attend much to the feeding of his old women, and the allowance which these poor creatures receive, is said to be always so miserably in arrear, that they have occasionally been

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire.—Ed.

reduced to extreme distress. Once they fairly broke loose from their prison, sallied in a body into the adjoining bazar, and carried off all they could lay hands on, exclaiming, that they had already pawned or sold all their trinkets, and almost all their clothes, that they were perishing with hunger, and that the King must pay for what they took, as well as bear the disgrace of reducing his father's wives to shew themselves to the people. The measure was a bold one, but, probably, did them good as to their subsequent treatment, for the King is allowed by every body to be a kind-hearted, well-meaning man, and the general sympathy and horror excited were very great.

None of the royal palaces (there are I think three in Lucknow besides this gloomy one) are either very large or striking. That in which the King received us to breakfast, and which is the one which he usually occupies, is close to the Residency; a cluster of mean courts with some morsels of shewy architecture intermingled, like the offices of a college. We went there in long procession, the Resident in his state palanquin, made open like the nuptial one which we saw in Chowringhee, I in a *toujon*, the rest of the party in all manner of conveyances. The Resident had a very numerous *suwarree* of armed men, silver sticks, &c. and my servants were so anxious that I should make a good appearance on the occasion, that they begged permission to put on their new blue coats, though the day was so hot it was painful to see them thus loaded. There was the usual show of

horse and foot-guards in the approaches to the palace, and the street was lined with the same picturesque crowd of irregular gendarmerie, which I had seen on entering the town. We were set down at the foot of a strangely mean stone staircase, resembling rather that leading to a bath-room than any thing else, on the summit of which the King received us, first embracing the Resident, then me. He next offered an arm to each of us, and led us into a long and handsome, but rather narrow, gallery, with good portraits of his father and Lord Hastings over the two chimney-pieces, and some very splendid glass lustres hanging from the ceiling. The furniture was altogether English, and there was a long table in the middle of the room, set out with breakfast, and some fine French and English china. He sat down in a gilt arm chair in the centre of one side, motioning to us to be seated on either hand. The Prime Minister sate down opposite, and the rest of the table was filled by the party from the Residency, and about an equal number of natives, among whom were one of the King's grandsons, the Commander-in-chief, and other public officers. The King began by putting a large hot roll on the Resident's plate, and another on mine, then sent similar rolls to the young Nawâb his grandson, who sate on the other side of me, to the Prime Minister, and one or two others. Coffee, tea, butter, eggs, and fish were then carried round by the servants, and things proceeded much as at a public breakfast in England. The King had some mess of his own in a beauti-

ful covered French cup, but the other Mussulmans ate as the Europeans did. There was a pillaw, which the King recommended to me, and which, therefore, I was bound to taste, though with much secret reluctance, as remembering the greasy dainties of the Nawâb of Dacca. I was surprised, however, to find that this was really an excellent thing, with neither ghee nor garlick, and with no fault except, perhaps, that it was too dry, and too exclusively fowl, rice, and spices. Mr. Ricketts told me afterwards, that the high-bred Mussulmans of this part of India, affect to dislike exceedingly, as vulgar, the greasy and fragrant dishes of the Bengalees and Hindoos, and that the merit of their cookery is to be dry, stimulant, and aromatic.

During the meal, which was not very long, for nobody ate much, the conversation was made up chiefly of questions from the King as to the countries which I had visited, the length of time which I had been in India, and the objects of my present journey; as also how I liked what I had seen of Lucknow, with the rest of what Falconbridge calls the "A B C book" of a traveller, when such a "piked man of countries" is at the breakfast table of a great man. I took care to thank him for his kindness in sending the guard and the Aâmceen to meet me, as also for the loan of the elephant and chariot. I understood pretty well all which he said, though he does not speak very distinctly, but I seldom ventured to answer him without the aid of Mr. Ricketts's interpretation, being aware of the danger of giving offence, or using vulgar or "un-

lucky" words. He said his servants had told him I spoke Hindoostanee remarkably well; I answered that I could speak it to people in the camp or on the river, but I was not used to speak it in such a presence. He said, very politely, I had only to go on according to the progress I had already made, and the next time I came to see him he would not allow me an interpreter. The fact is, however, that I have gained very little in Hindoostanee lately, considerably less than before I was constantly with the Archdeacon and Mr. Lushington. It is much easier to get them to interpret than myself to labour at an explanation, and, in marching, I have little or no time to read. Hindoostanee, not Persian, is here the court language; I suppose this has arisen from the King's desertion of his old allegiance to the house of Timur, since which it has been a natural policy to frame the etiquette of his court on a different model from that of Delhi.

After breakfast the King rose and walked, supported as before by Mr. Ricketts and me, into a small adjoining drawing-room, where his crown stood on a sofa-table. It is a very elegant one, of what heralds call the "Oriental" form, a velvet cap surrounded by pointed rays of diamonds, and a white heron's plume in front. I was no judge of the merit of the diamonds, but was able honestly to say, I had never, except on the Emperor of Russia's crown, seen a more brilliant show. He asked me if there was any difference between his crown and that of the King of England. I told him what the difference was, and said his Majesty's was

more like that of the Emperor of Constantinople, "Padshahi Roum." The conversation ended by his giving me a copy of his own works, and a book of some sort to the Archdeacon. We then took leave, and ended the morning by making a tour of the palaces, the new Imambara, the Menagerie, and the tombs of the King's father and mother. We went as before in our tonjons; and Mr. Ricketts on going out at the palace-gate, sent me a purse of thirty rupees in quarters, saying it was usual, on such occasions, to throw silver among the beggars. He had scarcely done this when our chairs were actually swept away from each other by a crowd of miserable objects of all kinds, who had waited our coming out, and had already learned my name. I at once saw that in such a scramble the strong and young would get every thing, and therefore bid the chobdars and other people round me to keep them off, and bring near the blind, lame, leprous, and very old. They executed this work zealously and well. The Cawupoor Sepoys particularly, twelve of whom had begged leave to attend me on this occasion, with their side-arms and ramrods, as orderlies, laid about them with such hearty goodwill, that they made a very effectual way, and really seemed anxious to bring forward the greatest objects, so that I had the satisfaction of making my hundred and twenty pieces of silver a good deal more useful than they otherwise would have been, as well as advancing with a progress considerably more rapid than I could have done without such tools as iron ramrods. I had, however, the morti-

fication to find that some of the weakest and most helpless of those who were admitted to the side of my chair, were hustled on their return to the crowd, to snatch from them the alms which they had received ; and one poor old woman, to whom I gave half a rupee on account of her great age and infirmities, was, after I had passed, thrown down, trampled on, and her hands, arms, and breast dreadfully pinched and bruised, to compel her to unlock her grasp of the money. The Resident's people rescued her, or she probably would have been killed. I observed, by the way, that my chobdar and the rest of my escort, seemed to think that it was strange to give more to a woman than to most of the men ; and I had noticed, on many occasions, that all through India any thing is thought good enough for the weaker sex, and that the roughest words, the poorest garments, the scantiest alms, the most degrading labour, and the hardest blows, are generally their portion. The same chuprassee, who, in clearing the way before a great man, speaks civilly enough to those of his own sex, cuffs and kicks any unfortunate female who crosses his path without warning or forbearance. Yet to young children they are all gentleness and indulgence. What riddles men are ! and how strangely do they differ in different countries ! An idle boy in a crowd would unfailingly, in England, get his head broken, but what an outcry would be raised if an unoffending woman were beaten by one of the satellites of authority ! Perhaps both parties might learn something from each other : at least I have always



thought it very hard to see beadles, in England, lashing away children on all public occasions, as if curiosity were a crime at an age in which it is, of all others, most natural.

This custom of throwing away money at presentations and other "high times," is said to be the cause of the number of beggars in Lucknow. They are, indeed, very numerous, but on no other occasion did I see a crowd of them, and in any large city, the certainty that money was to be scrambled for, would bring together a multitude, perhaps as great as that I saw to-day.

The King of Oude is rather a tall man, and being long-backed and sitting on a somewhat higher cushion than his neighbours, looks particularly so at his own table. He has evidently been very handsome, and has still good features and a pleasing countenance, though he looks considerably older than he is, or than he as yet chooses his painter to represent him. His curling hair and whiskers are quite grey, and his complexion has grown, I understand, much darker within these few years, being now, indeed, perhaps the darkest in his court. On Mr. Home's canvass, however, his locks are still "like the raven," and his "bonny brow is brent." The same immutability of youth, indeed, I have noticed in other royal portraits. The King of Oude, however, is evidently fond of dress, and is said to be a critic in that of others as well as his own; and his palaces, his new Imambara, his throne-room, jewels, and all the many other fine things which we visited this day, though extremely costly, and

marked by a cultivated taste, and an eye familiarized with European models, are less solid and massive in their properties, and impress the mind with far less magnificence than the proud Roumi Durwazu, and the other works of his more frugal and fortunate father and uncle. His manners are very gentlemanly and elegant, though the European ladies who visit his court complain that he seldom pays them any attention. Lady Hood and Lady Mac Mahon were, however, exceptions to this rule.

By a recent order of Government all presents of shawls, silks, ornaments, or diamonds, whether made to ladies or gentlemen, are taken from them on leaving the palace, by the Resident's chobdar, and sold on the account of Government. Nothing is kept but the silken cords which the King throws round the necks of his visitors at parting, and books, which, as nobody buys them, remain the unmolested property of the presentee.

Still presents are given and received, when such a public mark of respect is thought proper, but in a manner well understood by both parties. If a person of rank is introduced to the King, a tray of shawls is offered, accepted, and put by in store at the Residency. When the great man takes leave, on departing from Lucknow, he offers a similar nuzzur, which the Company supplies, and which is always of rather superior value to that which the King has given. Thus the King gets his own shawls, and something more returned to him in due course of circulation, and except that every

such interchange of presents costs the Company about five hundred rupees, the whole is reduced to little more than a bow, and the occasion of a fee to his Majesty's chobdars and hurkarus. I was asked if I chose to go through this mock interchange of presents. But I had no authority to draw from the Company's funds the presents which I was to return, nor any desire to encroach on the discretion which is, in such case, exercised by the Resident. I answered, therefore, that, as a Clergyman, I could not be supposed to derive honour from the present of fine clothes and costly ornaments, and that I was anxious for nothing so much as the possession of his Majesty's works; this I found was well taken.

I had the usual compliment paid me of an offer to have a fight of animals under my window, at breakfast, which I declined. It is a sight that religious persons among the Mussulmans themselves condemn as inhuman, and I did not want to be reckoned less merciful to animals than their own Moullahs. Nor was the King, who is himself pretty well tired of such sights, displeased, I found, that his elephants and rams had a holiday.

The King, to finish my court-days all at once, returned my visit on the Thursday following at the Residency, and was received by the Resident and myself at the head of the stairs, in all points as he received us, and was conducted between us, as before, to the middle of the long breakfast-table, and after breakfast I presented him with a copy of the Bible in Arabic, and the Prayer-Book in Hindoos-

tance, which I had got bound in red velvet, and wrapt up in brocade for the purpose. The morning went off so much like that which had preceded it, that I remember nothing of importance, except that during breakfast he asked me to sit for my portrait to his painter, and that after breakfast he offered me an escort of twenty suwarra through his territory, of which, in conformity with the principle on which I acted, of declining all needless parade, I accepted only ten, stating that I found those his Majesty had sent me before quite sufficient.

I lastly met him again, under circumstances perfectly similar, at the Residency on the day of Mr. Ricketts's marriage, at which he had expressed a wish to be present. At this breakfast he was more communicative than he had been, talked about steam-engines, and a new way of propelling ships by a spiral wheel at the bottom of the vessel, which an English engineer in his pay had invented; mentioned different circumstances respecting the earthquake at Shiraz which had been reported to him, but were not named in the Calcutta newspapers, and explained the degree of acquaintance which he shewed with English books, by saying he made his aides-de-camp read them to him into Hindoostanee. He was full of a new scheme of authorship or editorship in the form of a Hindoostanee and Arabic Dictionary, which he was pleased to find was likely to be well received at the College of Fort William. Captain Lockitt, indeed, said that it would in all probability be a very useful book, for he had men about him quite competent to do it respectably.

He asked so much about my publications, that Mr. Ricketts told me I was bound to offer to send them to him as soon as I returned to Calcutta, and, on my assenting, made a very pretty speech on my behalf. The King said he should receive them with great pleasure, and had no doubt he should get their meaning explained to him. I cannot tell how this may be, but am now bound to make the trial. The marriage ceremony went off very well. The King, his grandson, the minister, &c. remained in the room as spectators, and after it, Mr. Ricketts presented him with a splendid velvet and gold saddle-cloth, and housings. Thus ended, after another embrace, and a promise of returning "one of these days," my intercourse with one of the very few crowned heads I have ever come into contact with. I have been the more particular in describing what passed, because I know my wife will not be uninterested in it, and because this is in fact the most polished and splendid court at present in India. Poor Delhi has quite fallen into decay.

I sate for my portrait to Mr. Home four times<sup>1</sup>. He has made several portraits of the King, redolent of youth, and radiant with diamonds, and a portrait of Sir E. Paget, which he could not help making a resemblance. He is a very good artist indeed, for a King of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet,

<sup>1</sup> The Editor has great pleasure in repeating her obligations to Mr. Home, for having, unasked, sent to her a copy of the portrait mentioned in the text; and in adding the expression of the gratification which she has felt on learning that Mr. Ricketts has, at his own expence, transmitted another copy to Calcutta for the Bishop's college.

gentlemanly old man, brother of the celebrated surgeon in London, and came out to practise as a portrait painter at Madras, during Lord Cornwallis's first administration, was invited from thence to Lucknow by Saadut Ali a little before his death, and has since been retained by the King at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice. His son is a Captain in the Company's service, but is now attached to the King of Oude as equerry, and European aide-de-camp. Mr. Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste, and his drawing is very good and rapid; but it has been, of course, a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he, probably, finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his royal master.

Of the King's character, and the circumstances which have plunged this country into its present anarchy, I will now detail the outlines of what I have been able to learn. He was, by a very common misfortune attendant on heirs apparent, disliked by his father, Saadut Ali, who had kept him back from all public affairs, and thrown him entirely into the hands of servants. To the first of these circumstances may be ascribed his fondness for literary and philosophical pursuits, to the second the ascendancy which his khânsaman minister has gained over him. Saadut Ali, himself a man of talent and acquirements, fond of business and well qualified for it, but in his latter days unhappily addicted to drunkenness, left him a country

with six millions of people, a fertile soil, a most compact frontier, a clear revenue of two millions sterling, and upwards of two millions in ready money in the treasury, with a well-regulated system of finance, a peasantry tolerably well contented, no army to maintain except for police and parade, and every thing likely to produce an auspicious reign. Different circumstances, however, soon blighted these golden promises. The principal of these was, perhaps, the young Nawab's aversion to public business. His education had been merely Asiatic, for Saadat Ali, though he himself spoke English like a native, and very frequently wore the English uniform, had kept his son from all European intercourse and instruction. He was fond, however, as I have observed, of study, and in all points of Oriental philology and philosophy, is really reckoned a learned man, besides having a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry. But these are not the proper or most necessary pursuits of a king, and, in this instance, have rather tended to divert his mind from the duties of his situation, than to serve as graceful ornaments to an active and vigorous intellect. When I add to this, that at one period the chase occupied a considerable part of his time, it will be seen how many points of resemblance occur between him and our own James the First. Like James he is said to be naturally just and kind-hearted, and with all who have access to him he is extremely popular. No single act of violence or oppression has ever been ascribed to him or supposed to have been perpetrated with his know-

ledge, and his errors have been a want of method and economy in his expences, a want of accessibility to his subjects, a blind confidence in favourites, and, as will be seen, an unfortunate, though not very unnatural, attachment to different points of etiquette and prerogative.

His father's minister, at the time of his death, was Hukeem Mendee, a man of very considerable talents, great hereditary opulence and influence, and to the full as honest and respectable in his public and private conduct as an Eastern Vizier can usually be expected to be. The new sovereign was said not to be very fond of him, but there seemed not the least intention of removing him till his power was undermined, most unfortunately for all parties, by the British themselves.

The then Resident at Lucknow was said to interfere too much in the private affairs of the King, and in the internal and regular administration of the country. The minister would not allow it, and the King was so much irritated by this real, or supposed interference, that he sent, by some of his European servants, the private intelligence to Lord Hastings, of which mention is made in the justificatory memoir of the latter. Lord Hastings readily took up the affair; but in the mean time some of the King's servants, among whom was his khânsaman, worked upon their master's timidity, by representing the danger of coming to an open quarrel with the Resident, the probability that the English would not credit the complaints brought against their own countryman, and urged him to a compro-



mise before it was too late. In consequence the King retracted the complaint, and ascribed it to the incorrect information and bad advice of the Hukeem Mendee, who was in consequence deprived of many of his principal employments, which were transferred to the present minister, with the general consent of all parties, and with the concurrence of the Hukeem himself, as a man personally acceptable to the Sovereign, of pliant and pleasing manners, and not likely to aim at, or obtain more power than it was thought fit to entrust to him. Soon after, however, the new influence succeeded in getting the Hukeem Mendee deprived of one profitable post after another, in stripping him of many of the Zemindarries in his hands, and at length in having him thrown into prison, whence he was only released by the interposition of the British government. He now lives in great splendour at Futtehghur.

Expecting me to go to Futtehghur, he sent me, through Mr. Williams of Cawnpoor, a very civil invitation to his house, with the assurance that he had an English house-keeper, who knew perfectly well how to do the honours of his establishment to gentlemen of her own nation. (She is in fact a singular female, who became the wife of one of the Hindoostanee Professors at Hertford, now the Hukeem's Dewan, and bears, I believe, a very respectable character.) Hukeem Mendee was too powerful a man to be summarily got rid of, but more violent means were taken with others. One man of high rank was murdered in open day in the

city; others were driven out of the country, and every death and every banishment was a fresh occasion of adding a new place, or a new Zemindarrie to the minister's hoard.

While he grew rich, the King grew more and more in debt. No check whatever was given either to the receipt or issue of public money. The favourite had succeeded in getting both the secretaryship and treasurership in his own hands; and all that was known was, that the Minister built a magnificent house, and the King lavished great sums in all manner of trinkets, while the troops and public functionaries were without pay, and the peasantry driven to despair by continual fresh exactions. Of the two millions which his father had left, the King had lent one to Lord Hastings to carry on the Nepâl war. For this he was to receive interest, but unfortunately for him, he accepted, instead of all payment, a grant of fresh territory under the Himalaya mountains, which is entirely unproductive, being either savage wilderness, or occupied by a race of mountaineers, who pay no taxes without being compelled, and whom he has not the means of compelling. After a second loan Lord Hastings encouraged the Vizier to assume the title of King. But the worst consequence of both these loans was, that by laying the British Government under a great obligation to the King, they compelled Lord Hastings to suspend all further urging of the different measures of reform in the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue, which had been begun in Saadut

Ali's time, for the benefit of the people of Oude, and which the Hukeem Mendee, while he remained in power, had been gradually introducing, by the suggestion of the British Resident, and after the models afforded in our provinces. The chief of these was the substitution of a regular system of Zemindarrie collectors for the taxes, instead of a number of "fermiers publics," who take them from year to year by a sort of auction, collecting them afterwards in kind or in any way which suits them best, and who, by a strange injustice, are themselves the assessors, and, in many instances, the only accessible court of appeal, as well as the principal persons who derive a profit from the amount collected. This wretched system, it must be owned, is very common throughout the native governments; but when a sovereign is himself a man of talents and energy, or when his minister has any regard for his own reputation, it has many checks which, in the present case, did not operate. In consequence, three or four times more than the sums really due were often extorted by these locusts, who went down and encamped in different parts of the country, and, under various pretences, so devoured and worried the people that they were glad to get rid of them on any terms. Nay, sometimes, when one Aumeen had made his bargain with the land-owners and tenants, and received the greater part of the payment in advance, a second would make his appearance with more recent powers, (having out-bid his predecessors,) and begin assessing and collecting anew, telling the plun-

dered villagers that they had done wrong to pay before it was due, and that they must look to the first man for repayment of what they had been defrauded of. "All this has been done," was said to me, "and the king will neither see it nor hear it." It was not likely, however, to be done long without resistance. The stronger Zemindars built mud-forts, the poor Ryuts planted bamboos and thorny jungle round their villages; every man that had not a sword sold his garment to procure one, and they bade the King's officers keep their distance. The next step, however, of Government, was to call in the aid of British troops to quell these insurgents. This the King of Oude had, by the letter and spirit of existing treaties, a right to do. His father and uncle had purchased this right by the cession of nearly one-third of their whole territories,—by the admission of two or three garrisons of subsidiary troops into their remaining provinces, and by the disbanding of by far the greater part of their own army, on the express condition that the English should undertake to defend them against all external and internal enemies. Still Saadut Ali had used this right very sparingly. He was not fond of admitting, far less requesting, any more foreign interference than he could help. And his own guards, consisting of 2000 regular infantry, 1000 horse, 300 artillery, and the irregulars whom I have noticed, were enough for all usual occasions, and were in excellent order and discipline. Now, however, all was changed. The soldiers themselves were so ill paid, that it was difficult to keep them

together; the artillery, a beautiful little corps, first mutinied, and then disbanded themselves to the last man, and the King had really no option between either altering his system, or governing without taxes, or calling in British aid. That aid was demanded and given; and during the greater part of Lord Hastings's time this wretched country was pillaged under sanction of the British name, and under the terror of Sepoy bayonets, till at length the remonstrances of the British officers employed on this service became so urgent, and the scandal so notorious and so great, not to omit that the number of the disaffected increased daily, and that the more parties were sent out in support of the Aûmeens, the more were called for, while every peasant who lost lands or property in the progress of the system, became a Decoit and made inroads into the Company's provinces, that a different course was imperiously forced on Government. Accordingly, the Resident was instructed to urge anew on the King the adoption of a regular system of leasing the crown dues for a certain number of years, like that adopted in the Company's territories, and leasing them to the Zemindars themselves, not to these greedy Aûmeens. He was directed also to require proof, before granting the aid of troops, that the sums said to be withheld were really due. To the first of these proposals the King answered, that he would introduce the system gradually, and with such modifications as suited his country. He even named a district in which he would begin it; but, though two years have now

elapsed, nothing has yet been done. The second was met by sending a number of documents to the Resident, of whose history and authenticity he could know nothing, but which the officers sent with the detachment declared they believed to be often perfect forgeries. Mr. Ricketts, therefore, about a year ago, declined granting any more military aid, unless the King would, first, immediately carry into effect his promised reform; secondly, unless he would allow an English commissioner, versed in such matters, to accompany each detachment, and determine on the spot the justice of the Aûmeen's claim; thirdly, unless he would himself, after the example of his royal ancestors, hold frequent and public Durbar, to receive petitions from his subjects, and attend to these specific complaints; and fourthly, unless to prevent the constant incursion of robbers from his Majesty's into the Company's territories, he would allow the Judge and Magistrates of the adjoining districts to pursue and seize Decoits within his frontier.

To these proposals his answers have been very ingenious and plausible. To the first he says that such great changes cannot be the work of a day; that, when half his subjects are in arms against him, is not precisely the time to obtain a fair assessment or a permanent settlement of the land; but if the British will first, as he calls on them, in the terms of their treaty to do, put down his rebellious Zemindars, destroy their mud-forts, and disarm their people, he will pledge himself to adopt, in course of time, and with due deliberation, such

a system as will give satisfaction. To the second he answers with some reason, that the introduction of English judges and revenue officers, for such the proposed commissioners would be, into his country, would make his own officers cyphers, and his own power contemptible, and that he would sooner bid adieu to his crown at once, and turn Fakir. To the third, that he has not understood it to be the custom of either the King of England or the Governor-General, to hold such an open Durbar as they recommend, (nor will those who have seen a Lucknow mob anticipate any beneficial effects from such excessive accessibility.) But to prove his regard for his people, he has instructed his prime minister to hold a Durbar for these precise purposes twice a week, who is charged to report all cases of importance to his own ear. The fourth he answers by saying, that it is very hard to accuse him of harbouring robbers, while we refuse him all aid in putting down the very Zemindars whose fortresses and fastnesses are the common nests of robbery and rebellion; that if we help him to subdue his rebels, he will keep his robbers in order himself: but that it would be a cruel mockery to continue to call him a king, if any neighbouring magistrate might enter his dominions at pleasure. He urges that "all his difficulties have arisen from his entire confidence in the friendship of the Company. That this induced him and his ancestors to disband an excellent army, till they scarce left sentries enough for the palace; and thus they have become unable, without help, to

enforce payment of their ancient revenues. That this induced him to lend to the British Government all the money which would have else enabled him to ease the people of their burthens, and to meet without inconvenience whatever loss of income a new assessment may, for some time, render inevitable. That he never has refused, and never will refuse, to give the best consideration in his power to any measures of reform which may be, in a friendly manner, proposed to him; but he refers those who represent him as a tyrant, or who speak of his country as depopulated, to every traveller who has marched along its principal roads, and has observed the extent of cultivation through which they are carried." He concludes by saying that "he is aware, that notwithstanding the tone of equality, and independence which in their treaties and official correspondence the Company have allowed him to maintain, he is in fact in their power; but if he is to reign at all, for which he knows that he has no guarantee but British good faith, he intreats that his requests for the performance of a positive treaty may not be met by stipulations which would render that treaty vain, that he may be defended from the only enemies he has, or is likely to have, his rebellious Zemindars, and protected in the exercise of functions which are essential parts of that sovereignty which has been so solemnly and repeatedly guaranteed to him." The statements, of which these are the purport, I thought very curious; they certainly shew strongly the perplexities and mischief arising from the subsidiary



system, which seems for so many years to have been our favourite policy in India, and to which it must be owned a considerable part of our political greatness is owing.

I can bear witness certainly to the truth of the King's statement, that his territories are really in a far better state of cultivation than I had expected to find them. From Lucknow to Sandee, where I am now writing, the country is as populous and well cultivated as most of the Company's provinces. The truth perhaps is, that for more than a year back, since the aid of British troops has been withheld, affairs have been in some respects growing better. The Zemindars have in a few instances carried their point, the Aumeens have been either driven away entirely, or been forced to a moderate compromise, and the chief actual sufferers at the present moment are the King, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the traveller, who unless he have such a guard as I have, had better sleep in a safe skin on the other side of the Ganges. It should be observed, however, that I have as yet seen no sign of those mud-forts, stockades, and fortresses, on which the Zemindars and peasantry are said to rely for safety; that the common people north of Lucknow are, I think, not so universally loaded with arms as those to the southward, and that though I have heard a good deal all the way of the distressed state of the country, as well as its anarchy and lawlessness, except in the single instance I have mentioned, where the treasure was attacked, I have *seen* no

signs of either, or had any reason to suppose that the King's writ does not pass current, or that our Aûmeen would have the least difficulty in enforcing it in our favour, even without the small payment which I give, and which is evidently accepted as a gratuity. I cannot but suspect, therefore, that the misfortunes and anarchy of Oude are somewhat overrated, though it is certain that so fine a land will take a long time in ruining, and that very many years of oppression will be required to depopulate a country which produces on the same soil, and with no aid but irrigation, crops of wheat and pulse every year.

It seemed strange to me why, since so much of the present calamities of the country were ascribed to the misconduct of the minister, his removal was not demanded in the first instance, after which all subsequent measures of reform might be looked forward to as attainable. But it was apprehended that the King would rather abdicate than be dictated to in this particular, and that it was thought better to urge an effectual change of system, than the mere removal of an individual who might be replaced by somebody not at all better. I asked also if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English Government? Captain Lockitt said that he had heard the same thing; but on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindoostanee enables him to do, familiarly with the suwarrs who accompanied him, and who spoke out, like all the rest of their country-

men, on the weakness of the King and the wickedness of the government, he fairly put the question to them, when the Jemautdar, joining his hands, said with great fervency, "miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!" "Why so?" said Captain Lockitt, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our nation would be at an end." There are, indeed, many reasons why high-born and ambitious men must be exceedingly averse to our rule; but the preceding expression of one in humble rank, savours of more national feeling and personal frankness than is always met with in India. He was a soldier, however, and a Mussulman who spoke thus. A Hindoo Ryut might have answered differently, and it is possible that both accounts may be true, though this only can I vouch for as authentic. It ought to be borne in mind, that the oppression and anarchy to which Oude is a prey, are chiefly felt and witnessed in the villages. In the towns the King's authority passes unquestioned, and I have not heard that the dustoory levied is irregular or excessive. An insurrection in Lucknow would be a dreadful thing, and most ministers will be careful how they excite it.

The population of Lucknow is guessed at three hundred thousand. But Mussulmans regard every attempt to number the people as a mark of great impiety, and a sure presage of famine or pestilence; so that nothing can be known with accuracy. It is, I really think, large enough and sufficiently

crowded to contain that number. There are two bridges over the Goomty, one a very noble old Gothic edifice of stone, of, I believe, eleven arches; the other a platform laid on boats, and merely connecting the King's park with his palace. Saadut Ali had brought over an iron bridge from England, and a place was prepared for its erection; but on his death the present sovereign declined prosecuting the work on the ground that it was unlucky; so that in all probability it will lie where it is, till the rust reduces it to powder.

There are, in Lucknow, a considerable number of Christians of one kind or other. Besides the numerous dependants of the Residency, the King has a great many Europeans and half-castes in his employ. There are also many tradesmen of both these descriptions, and a strange medley of adventurers of all nations and sects, who ramble hither in the hope, generally a fruitless one, of obtaining employment.

I had numerous congregations, both at the Cantonments and the Residency, the two Sundays which I staid. The Hindoostanee reads well in prayer, particularly those words which are derived from the Arabic, as most of the religious terms in the translation of our Liturgy appear to be. I like the sound of "Aram Ullahi jo sare fahemon se batur hue;"—"the peace of God," &c.; and of "Khoda Khader, Mutluk, jo Bap our Beta our Ruk Kodus hue;"—"God victorious, Mighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." I had also twelve candidates for Confirmation, and administered the

Sacrament to twenty-five persons, and found the people extremely anxious to assemble for public worship. The first Sunday I preached, indeed, three times, and twice the second, besides giving two Confirmation Lectures on the Friday and Saturday, and some other occasional duty. Mr. Ricketts is himself in the habit of acting as Chaplain at the Residency every Sunday; but the people in the King's employ, and the other Christian inhabitants, complain that Government are very jealous of their attending at that place, and they express great anxiety to establish a similar meeting for devotional purposes among themselves. It would not be expedient at present to send a Missionary here; but they might have a school-master, furnished by our Society with a stock of sermons to be read every Sunday. I have requested Mr. Corrie to enquire for such a person. There are a few Roman Catholics, mostly Portuguese, or their degenerate descendants, who have a small chapel, and a Propaganda Franciscan priest. And, to shew the strange mixture of adventurers who are attracted hither, I had applications made to me for charity by a Spaniard from Lima in Peru, who had come in search of service, and a Silesian Jew, who pretended that he had been an officer in the Russian army, and had been encouraged to bend his course in this direction by the golden dreams which men in Europe build of the opening for talent and adventurous spirit in India. I should have thought this last fellow a spy, had he not been quite without papers or documents of any kind, or if it had

not been unlikely that a Russian spy would have openly professed to have served in the Russian army. He was exceedingly ignorant, spoke wretched French and German with a strong Jewish accent, and, instead of having served in the army, had every appearance of having sold oranges all his days in Leipzic.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### LUCKNOW TO BAREILLY

*Departure from Lucknow—Gratitude of Sepoys—Illness—Mussulman Suwarr—Sandeel—Dispute between two Villages—Shahjehanpore—Rebel Chief in the Forest—Anecdote of Rohilla Chief—Fertility of Rohilkund—Futtehgunge—Hafez Rehmah—Visit from Tussildar—Furreedpore—Bareilly—Professional Duties—Character of Rohillas—Preparations for the mountains*

ON Monday, November 1st, having united my two kind-hearted friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts, and taken leave of them, the Corries, and poor Lushington, whose bad health obliged me to leave him behind, under the care of the Residency surgeon, Mr. Luxmore, I set off from Lucknow, alone, and I confess, with more regret and depression of spirits than I expected to feel on such an occasion. I had become quite intimate with Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts; for the Corries and Lushington I feel a sincere regard, and I could not but be painfully sensible how great the probability was, in such a climate, that this might, on earth, be our last meeting. I had the satisfaction, however, to leave the Archdeacon much better than he had been, and to find that Mr. Luxmore thought favourably of Lushington's case. But it was, altogether, a sad leave-taking. Lushington was very low, in spite of many endeavours to speak cheerfully, the Cor-

ries much agitated, and their little girls in tears ; and I do not think I felt the least of the party, though I believe I talked the most on various subjects.

I had found great difficulty in ascertaining the best road to Bareilly. That marked down in Paton's routes was declared, by the Dâk Moonshee, and the King's Aûmeen, the only persons from whom I was likely to obtain information, to be no longer practicable, the villages specified there being either deserted, or so far impoverished as to afford neither supplies nor shade. A very direct road, which is marked on Arrowsmith's map, and which runs north-west from Lucknow to Shahabad, was said by the sarbann to be probably good and practicable at this time of year ; but the Aûmeen declared he could not possibly go with me that way ; that it was mostly wild jungle and inhabited by Zemindars at present in a state of rebellion. I argued the matter some time, for the difference of distance is really great, and with a guard of fifty men there was no danger to be apprehended. But the old man said that though, perhaps, we might be safe from open attack, we should certainly get no supplies,—that nobody ever went that way but Fakirs and hunters, and that the King had himself ordered him to take me the " Shahi Rustu," King's highway. I then gave up the point, which I afterwards was sorry for, for the Jemautdar of the horse-guards, whom the King sent with me, assured me that one was as much a Shahi Rustu as the other, and that I should have found the Shahabad road not only three days shorter, but, in his mind,



much more pleasant. He owned that there were plenty of thieves and Zemindars, but none that were likely to meddle with us, or of whom any but a timid old Aûmeen would be afraid ; and he spoke with a good deal of glee of the deer and the wild hogs which we should have met with in these woodland marches. It must be owned, however, that none of the British officers at the Lucknow Cantonments, nor any body at the Residency, or of the Europeans in the King's service, had ever been this road, or believed it to be practicable, so that we might possibly have been occasionally put to some inconvenience for supplies. As it was, I found it impossible to get the distance to Bareilly divided into less than fourteen stages, and was compelled, therefore, to send off the tents and baggage on Sunday morning, in order that I might reach that place for divine service on the 14th, and rest the intervening Sunday by the way.

My separation from Mr. Lushington enabled me to send back to Cawnpoor one elephant and six camels, besides the two elephants which belonged to Mr. Corrie's tent. I also sent back a routee, but kept two small double-poled tents, in order to save trouble and time by pitching them on alternate days. I had still three elephants and twenty-two camels, including two spare ones, a number which was rendered necessary by the length and arduous nature of the journey before me, as well as by the number of tents and quantity of baggage required by my escort. That consisted, besides the King's ten guards, of forty Sepoys, under a " Soubahdar,"

a native officer, and four non-commissioned officers. I thought this number unnecessary, but was told it was according to rule; and it so happened that I occasioned no inconvenience to the service, since the officers and men who were assigned me were actually under orders for Nussereabad, and might just as well accompany me thither. My new Soubahdar was introduced to me on the Saturday by his predecessor, who was himself, against his will, ordered back to Cawnpoor. The new one is a grave, modest-looking old man, with a white beard, a native of Rajpootana, and of high caste, but of far more reserved manners, and greater diffidence, than the former. He is, however, a Hindoo, and they are certainly a less dashing race than the Mussulmans.

All my tents and baggage being gone, except what clothes a bag held, and all my servants but two, I set out at half-past four o'clock, on one of Mr. Ricketts's elephants, accompanied by Captain Salmon on another, and attended by a third with the two servants. Mr. Ricketts had thought it proper that Captain Salmon and a body of suwarrs should go with me through the city; and the King, whose howdahs had no tilts to them, had kindly stationed two more elephants half-way, to receive me as soon as the sun should be gone down. In this way I made the journey rapidly and agreeably, and reached my tent at Hussungunge, 20 miles from Lucknow, a little after eight in the evening. In the way, at Futtehgunge, I passed the tents pitched for the large party which

were to return towards Cawnpore next day, and was much pleased and gratified by the Soubahdar and the greater number of the Sepoys of my old escort running into the middle of the road to bid me another farewell, and again express their regret that they were not going on with me "to the world's end." They who talk of the ingratitude of the Indian character, should, I think, pay a little more attention to cases of this sort. These men neither got nor expected any thing by this little expression of good will. If I had offered them money, they would have been bound, by the rules of the service, and their own dignity, not to take it. Sufficient civility and respect would have been paid if any of them who happened to be near the road had touched their caps, and I really can suppose them actuated by no motive but good will. It had not been excited, so far as I know, by any particular desert on my part; but I had always spoken to them civilly, had paid some attention to their comforts in securing them tents, firewood, and camels for their knapsacks, and had ordered them a dinner after their own fashion, on their arrival at Lucknow, at the expense of, I believe, not more than four rupees! Surely, if good will is to be bought by these sort of attentions, it is a pity that any body should neglect them!

The suwarra furnished by the King for this journey were a very different description of men from those who previously accompanied me. They were evidently picked for the purpose, being tall, strong young fellows, on exceedingly good horses,

and as well armed as could be wished for the nature of their service.

We passed again through Nawalgunge, and I asked after the sick elephant, but was told he died the same morning that we went on towards Lucknow.

*November 2.*—I went five coss to Meeagunge, which was built by the famous eunuch Almass Ali Khân, whose proper name, while in a state of servitude, was Meea. It consists of a large fort of bricks, with eight circular bastions, surrounded by an exterior enclosure, at perhaps 500 yards distance, of mud, but also in the shape of a fortification, with great Gothic gateways corresponding to those in the central enclosure. Between are avenues of very noble mangoe-trees, with which indeed the whole intervening space is planted, though at such considerable intervals, as not to intercept the breeze. It is a fine old-fashioned park, but now trees, towers, gates, and palaces are sinking fast into rubbish and forgetfulness. Almass had here a park of forty pieces of artillery, and when he received a visit from the Nawâb Saadut Ali, he built him up a throne of a million of rupees, of which, when his Highness was seated on it, he begged him to accept. The fort is now filled with the bazar of a poor village, erected under the shade of the mangoes; the park was laid down, when I saw it, in quillets of beautiful green wheat and barley.

I had been unwell for the last two days, and was obliged to perform my journey of the 3rd in

my palanquin, the best way in which a sick man could make it; I travelled seven coss to Seetalgünge, the country level, fertile, and well-cultivated. The whole of this day I felt extremely ill, and was in much perplexity what to do, as I was some days' journey from any medical adviser. The application, however, of leeches to my temples relieved me considerably, and I was able to get into my palanquin the next morning, intending if possible to push on, so that if I grew worse I might be able to get assistance by sending a servant on to Futtehgunge, the nearest station, on a swift-trotting camel.

This day's march, the 4th, brought me to a large town called Mallaon, in the neighbourhood of which my tents were pitched. Here I remained the whole of the next day, being too ill to move. At the time that I gave orders for this halt, I know not why, but the whole caravan seemed to be convinced that I was not long for this world. Abdullah worried me a great deal with his lamentations on my premature end in the wilderness, recommending all manner of unattainable or improper remedies, and talking all sorts of absurd wisdom, at the same time that his eyes were really full of tears. The poor Sirdar said nothing, but shewed a most pitiful face every ten or twelve minutes through the tent door. The "goomashta," or master of the camels, the old Soubahdar, the Aîmeen, and many others came to offer up their good wishes and prayers for my recovery; and, perhaps, the best and most useful proof of their good will was,

that I heard no needless noise in the camp the whole day; and, if a voice were raised, "chup! chup!" "silence! silence!" followed immediately. Abdullah offered to push on with the camels to procure assistance; and I promised him that, if I were not better next morning, I would send him or some other messenger. But through the mercy of God, the remedies I took, almost in utter ignorance, proved successful, and I found myself so much better on the morning of Saturday, November the 6th, as to be enabled to perform my day's journey with ease in the palanquin; and I received the felicitations of all the elders of the camp on my recovery.

I believe my complaint to have been the Calcutta and Lucknow influenza, a little aggravated, perhaps, by my journey in the sun after tiffin on Monday afternoon. I did not feel, however, the same excessive and distressing languor as is said to have haunted convalescents in that disorder, or more indeed of weakness than might fairly be accounted for by the discipline which I had undergone.

Our stage to-day of seven coss, through the same level and fruitful style of country, was to Belgaram, a place remarkable as being the station first fixed on for the British "advanced force," as it then was, which was afterwards fixed at Cawnpore. There are still several traces of what the King's suwarra said were bells of arms, and officers' bungalows, which certainly might be such, but were now heaps of ruins.

The town of Belgaram itself is small, with marks of having been much more considerable, but still containing some large and good, though old Musulman houses, the habitations of the Tussildar, Cutwell, &c. Here again, after a long interval, I found a good many scattered palms, both of the date and toddy species, and there is a noble shew of mangoe-trees in every direction. I found myself well enough in the evening to walk round the place, attended by the goomashta, whom I found a very sensible man, willing to give information, and well acquainted with most points which relate to the agriculture, rent, and taxes of this part of India. He said, what I could easily believe from all which I saw, that the soil of Oude was one of the finest in the world; that every thing flourished here which grew either in Bengal or Persia; that they had at once rice, sugar, cotton, and palm-trees, as well as wheat, maize, barley, beans, and oats: that the air was good, the water good, and the grass particularly nourishing to cattle: but he said, "the laws are not good, the judges are wicked, the Zemindars are worse, the Aumeens worst of all, and the Ryuts are robbed of every thing, and the King will neither see nor hear." I asked him the rent per begah of the land. He said generally four rupees, but sometimes six; and sometimes the peasant had all taken from him. I observed that it was strange that, under such usage, they continued to cultivate the land so well as they seemed to do. "What can they do?" he answered, "they must eat; and when they have put the seed in the ground, they

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must wait till it comes up, and then take what they can get of it." I still, however, suspect exaggeration in all these stories.

We passed a neat garden of turnips and some potatoes looking very promising; these last, he said, were at first exceedingly disliked by the people, but now were becoming great favourites, particularly with the Mussulmans, who find them very useful as absorbents in their greasy messes. Our elephants were receiving their drink at a well, and I gave the suwarree some bread, which, before my illness, I had often been in the habit of doing. "He is glad to see you again," observed the goomashta, and I certainly was much struck by the calm, clear, attentive, intelligent eye which he fixed on me, both while he was eating, and afterwards while I was patting his trunk and talking about him. His mohout told me that three or four years ago, his trunk had received a very serious wound from the claw of a tiger which sprang on him, and from which he was rescued with great difficulty; the trunk was nearly torn off, but he was recovered by having a bandage applied kept constantly wet with brandy. He was, he said, a fine tempered beast, but the two others were "great rascals." One of them had once almost killed his keeper. I have got these poor beasts' allowance increased in consideration of their long march; and that they may not be wronged, have ordered the mohout to give them all their gram in presence of a sentry. The gram is made up in cakes, about as large as the top of a hat-box, and baked on an earthen pot. Each



contains a seer, and sixteen of them are considered as sufficient for one day's food for an elephant on a march. The suwarree elephant had only twelve, but I ordered him the full allowance, as well as an increase to the others. If they knew this they would indeed be glad to see me.

As I was slowly returning to my tents, a handsome young Mussulman came up, and seeing an European in plain clothes, with only three unarmed people, began talking civilly in point of language, but in a very free and easy sort of manner; he was smartly dressed, with a gold-laced skull-cap, an embroidered muslin shirt and drawers, ear-rings, collar, and ring, which professed to be of garnets with a few diamonds, and a shewy shawl wrapped round his body, but none of his clothes clean or well put on, and had that sort of untidy air about him, which as it is more unusual, is even more offensive in an Eastern than a Western buck. He was followed by seven or eight very dirty ill-dressed fellows with swords, shields, and matchlocks, and had himself a sword, with a tarnished silver hilt, and a large pistol which he carried in his hand and kept playing with while he was speaking. He was evidently more than half drunk, and had the manner of a foolish boy who wants to play the great man, but is not sure how he will be received, and undecided whether he is to pick a quarrel or no. He salamed, and asked me what I was about, and where I had been, which I answered civilly but shortly; he then enquired whence I came and where I was going. I asked

him why he wanted to know? to which he answered, that he was a man of consequence in the neighbourhood, and it was his business to make enquiries; but added more civilly, that seeing a Sahib, he came to offer salutation. I said I was obliged to him, and asked his name, which he told me, but which I forget, except that he professed to be a Syud, enquiring at the same time what my name was. "Lord Padre Sahib" did not explain the matter at all: he resumed, however, his enquiries about my route next day, and where I intended to halt. I had forgotten the name, and on turning towards the goomashta, he, very eagerly and with an expressive look, said "Sandee," which I knew was not the place, but as he seemed to wish to see no more of the gentleman, I did not interfere. He then again launched out into an account of his own influence in the neighbourhood, "East, West, North, and South," and added, as I seemed a good man, he would come in the morning with his friends to protect me. I thanked him, but said he need not trouble himself, since besides my own servants, I had already 50 Sepoys, and 10 of the King's suwarrrs. While I said this a very whimsical change took place in his countenance. His head was before thrown back in a protecting way, and his eyes were half shut. These he now opened very wide, and raised his head to a perpendicular posture so suddenly, that, since I had, during the conversation, drawn up pretty closely to him, in order to prevent, if necessary, any further evolutions with his pistol, our noses and breasts

were almost brought into contact. He hastily drew back, called me "Huzoor," instead of "Ap," and again renewed his offer, not of protection, but of service. I cut the matter short, however, by taking a civil leave of this young descendant of Fatima and the Imâms. When he was gone I asked the goomashta if he knew any thing of him. He shook his head, saying that there were many such hurramzadus about the country, who were too proud to enter into the Company's army, and who could not find employ in the little army of the King, and were, consequently, idle, drunken, and ready for any mischief. I asked if he were a Zemindar; he said he did not believe that he was either Zemindar or Tussildar, or that, whatever his family might be, he had any other profession or character than that of suwarr, and a candidate for employment in some of the mercenary armies of India. He concluded with hoping we should see no more of him, which, indeed, I thought most likely. I was a little tired with my walk, but slept all the better for it, and waked at half-past three on Sunday the 7th, with no traces of sickness. I had ordered the tents and luggage to a station seven coss distant, but the foolish khânsaman finding a want of trees and water there, instead of pushing on further, or trying to the right or left, returned two coss to Sandee, so that the animals and people had a nine coss march, while our actual progress was only five! I was very angry when I came up and found what had happened, but it was then too late to be remedied.

The country through which we passed to-day was extremely pretty, undulating, with scattered groves of tall trees, and some extensive lakes which still showed a good deal of water. The greater part of the space between the wood was in green wheat; but there were, round the margins of the lakes, some small tracks of brushwood and beautiful silky jungle-grass, eight or ten feet high, with its long pendant beards glistening with hoar frost, a sight enough, in itself, to act as a tonic to a convalescent European. The morning was very cold, however, to my feelings, and though I had a woollen great coat, pantaloons, and worsted stockings, I was not sorry to draw my cloak also about me. Sandee is a poor little village, shaded by some fine trees, with a large jeel in the neighbourhood swarming with wild fowl. It was described to me as a very dangerous place for travellers without my present advantages, and I was told that from thence to the Company's frontier the country bore an extremely bad character, and several robberies and murders had taken place lately. For us, there could, I should think, be no fear, but when I went to take my usual walk in the evening, the Jemautdar of the King's horsemen and one of his troopers came up with their swords and pistols and begged leave to join me.

I had an opportunity, on this occasion, of seeing the manner in which the ground is irrigated from wells, of which there are great numbers. The water is poured into narrow channels conducted all over the field, round the little squares into which the land is divided all through India, and the use of

which I before understood but imperfectly. I now found that these ledges are adapted to receive and retain the precious fluid with as little waste as possible, each serving as a small lock, in which, when the water has done its duty, a hole is made by the hand and the stream passed on to the next. The industry and neatness exhibited in this work were very pleasing, and I rejoiced to see the favourable appearance which the young wheat bore. The lake was half dry already, and would, they said, in three months' time be quite so; as it recedes, it leaves a fine bed of grass and aquatic plants, on which a large herd of cattle was now eagerly grazing. The Ganges, I was told, was not above four coss distant, and an angle of the company's frontier hardly so far. One of the King's couriers passed, dressed like a suwarr and well armed, on a good horse, and riding at a great rate with a mounted and armed attendant behind him. There were, the Jemautdar said, a great many of these people, who brought news from different quarters, the greater part of which was afterwards inserted in the court intelligencer. The only regular post in Oude is carried on by the British Government, and is under the management of the Resident. This was a lonely Sunday, except that in the evening I said prayers with Abdullah. I hope, however, it was not a misspent one. I hope and believe I was really thankful to God for his late goodness to me. My travelling to-day was not to be avoided, since, otherwise, I could not have reached Bareilly by the following Sunday.

*November 8.*—Our march to-day, thanks to the blunder of yesterday, was ten coss, or twenty miles, to a large village with an old fortress, named Suromunuggur. The country improved in beauty, becoming more and more woody and undulating, but was neither so well inhabited nor so well cultivated as that which we had gone through before. The King's Aûmeen had urged my people to pitch their tents two coss short of Suromunuggur, at another village, but the water was bad and dirty, and they remembered my recent scolding too well to stop again short of the appointed place. In consequence, however, of their advance, a messenger came from the "Foujdah" (chatellain) of Suromunuggur, asking why we were not content with the quarters at first assigned to us, adding that the men of their place neither wanted to see the King nor any of his friends, that they had no supplies to spare, and were able and determined to defend themselves against us. At almost the same time a similar message came from the first village, bidding us go on in God's name, for they did not want us there ; but if the people of Suromunuggur refused to receive us, they would help us with 500 men. I was asleep in my palanquin, it being early in the morning when this occurred, but Abdullah, who was a little in advance, answered the first messengers very properly, that " His Lord did not come there to take any part in their quarrels ; that it was known to all the country that I was travelling peaceably, and that instead of using the King's authority to strip the Ryuts, I had paid for every thing which was

brought, and had not allowed either servant or soldier to take a blade of corn without leave of the owner. That if their tradesmen would not furnish us with supplies, we would buy them elsewhere, and content ourselves with telling the King and the Resident the reception we had met with ; but that he, Abdullah, did not dare propose to me to go, in consequence of their foolish threats, to any other place than that which I had ordered." The people seemed satisfied and ran off. Abdullah, when I came up, said that he thought this would be the case, and that there would be no occasion to trouble me with the matter, which was probably only a quarrel amongst the villagers themselves. The message from the nearest village came by one of the King's hurkarus, who accompanied me, and in fact required no answer. I saw no trace of the 500 men as I passed it, and should be much surprised if 100 effective men could have been found in it. At all events my escort would have chased them all. At Suromunuggur I found the tents peaceably pitched, the sentries posted, and every thing with the appearance of quiet. The Foujdar, however, though he had sent some milk, and a fine kid for my use, and a little fire-wood for the kitchen, was still jealous and uneasy at our neighbourhood. He did not like to admit us indiscriminately into his bazar, and proposed that two of my servants and two of the sepoys should come in, to market for the rest. I returned answer, through Abdullah, that it was my particular order, that not a single soldier or servant of mine should leave their places ;

that we only wanted food, and the usual necessities for travellers, and that if his tradesmen would bring their baskets out into the field, they would find us no bad customers. Four or five people of this sort came out accordingly, as well as some labouring men, who, for an ana each, brought as much wood and grass as was sufficient for the party. The only quarrel which occurred, was from the misconduct of one of the elephant-drivers, always a bruish and impudent set, who began to help himself and his animal out of a field of maize. The old man to whom it belonged, came to me with a lamentable outcry, but was satisfied, since, indeed, no estimable harm had yet been done, with my making the fellow give back the little he had taken, and threatening him with a flogging. The kid which had been brought I saw paid for, and as I did not want it myself, gave it to the King's suwarra, whose conduct and countenance throughout the discussion, had been extremely good and soldierly. In the course of the day all jealousies seemed to have passed; and when I went for my evening's walk, merely adding a couple of spear-men to my yesterday's cortège, I asked if they would let me go into the village, and found no objection made; indeed, they said, that the King's Aâmeeen and the Foujdar were already well reconciled.

The fortress is pretty much like a large serai, surrounded by a high brick-wall, with round towers at the flanks, and two gothic gateways opposite to each other. That by which I entered had a tall



iron-studded door like a college, with a small wicket in one leaf, which alone was now open ; within, on each side of the passage, was a large arched recess, about three feet from the ground, where were seated twelve or fifteen men, armed as usual, with one or two guns, and matches lighted, but mostly having bows, and arrows : all had swords and shields. They rose and salamed very respectfully as I came in, and I passed on through a narrow street of mud-houses, some looking like warehouses, and the whole having more the air of a place where the peasantry of a small district were accustomed to secure their stores, than the usual residence of any considerable number of people. Half-way along this street I was met by the Foujdar himself, a peasant like the rest, and the old Aûmeen, who came out of the house together. The latter had every appearance of having been drinking, but said " he had been at his daily work, arranging with his friend here, matters for Huzoor's comfort and progress next day." After salutation I went on to the opposite gate, which was supplied with warders in the same way as the previous one, and then entered a little straggling bazar, which, with some scattered huts, completed the hamlet. I saw no nosque, but a small pagoda, and the warders were, apparently, not Mussulmans, but Hindoos, which I had previously found was also the case with my old Aûmeen. Thus ended a day which had a commencement apparently so formidable, but of which I cannot help entertaining some doubt that the difficulty was, in the first instance,

considerably exaggerated by Abdullah and the other servants, partly to increase the apparent dignity and prudence of the answer returned, partly from the love of the marvellous which the vulgar in all countries cherish. I was not sorry, however, to have witnessed this little specimen of the war-like habits of Oude. The Jemautdar told me during my walk, that these people and those of the other village had long been on bad terms, and that many men had been killed on each side. This will perhaps account both for the anger of the one party in the morning, when they thought that we were leaving their enemies to *sponge* on them, as also for the benevolent offer of the other to lend us their best aid in injuring their neighbours. But, altogether, it was not unpleasant to find myself at the head of so respectable a force as to make it extremely improbable that any of these hot-bloods would court a quarrel.

Some little adventures had occurred during this journey, in the detail of my escort, which I forgot to mention in their places. A sepoy had deserted with his musquet and clothes, which I chiefly notice, because it was regarded as utterly hopeless and idle to pursue, or even to describe him in my report of the circumstance to the officer of the next station, and still more, because his desertion was spoken of by all in the camp with surprise, and as if it were the voluntary abandonment of a comfortable situation. Two other Sepoys had been ill for several days in much the same way with myself; I had treated them in a similar manner; and they

were now doing well, but being Brahmins of high caste, I had much difficulty in conquering their scruples and doubts about the physic which I gave them. They both said that they would rather die than taste wine. They scrupled at my using a spoon to measure their castor-oil, and insisted that the water in which their medicines were mixed, should be poured by themselves only. They were very grateful, however, particularly for the care I took of them when I was myself ill, and said repeatedly that the sight of me in good health would be better to them than all medicines. They seemed now free from disease, but recovered their strength more slowly than I did, and I was glad to find that the Soubahdar said he was authorized, under such circumstances, to engage a hackery at the Company's expense, to carry them till they were fit to march. He mentioned this in consequence of my offering them a lift on a camel, which they were afraid of trying.

Another Sepoy, a very fine young fellow, called on me this evening to beg permission to go to see a brother who was with some companies cantoned at a little frontier post, eight coss to our left hand, the name of which I forget. He said that as he was to go into Rajpootana, he did not know when he should meet him again; and added that he could easily travel the eight coss that night, and would rejoin me at Shahjehanpoor. I told him not to hurry himself to do so, but to take the straight northern road to Bareilly, by which means he might fall in with me before I reached that city,

and that I would give him a pass for four days. He was much delighted; and I mention the circumstance chiefly to shew the falsehood of the common notion, that these poor people will take no trouble for the sake of their kindred.

A pretty trout-stream, named like the large river at Lucknow, the Goomty, winds under the walls of Suromunuggur, through a beautiful carpet of green wheat, interspersed with noble trees. It is strange, indeed, how much God has done to bless this land, and how perversely man has seemed bent to render His bounties unavailing!

From Suromunuggur we proceeded, on the 9th, to Loudunpoor, five coss and a half. We passed in our way through Shahabad, a considerable town, or almost city, with the remains of fortifications, and many large houses. Loudunpoor is what would be called a moderate-sized market-town in England. It has a fine "tope" (or grove) of mango-trees adjoining, where the tents were pitched, covering six or eight acres, with a little shrine of Siva in the middle, and an open shed near it. The country is chiefly cultivated with cotton. This place also, some years ago, bore a very bad character, and is still dangerous for persons without a guard. On a frontier, it may be well supposed, idle and mischievous people, the refuse of both countries, are likely to establish themselves; but by what I learned, both here and at Shahjehanpoor, there is little to choose in this respect between the two sides of the boundary line.

An old man, 109 years of age, was brought to

my tent to beg to-day. He had his bodily organs perfect, but was apparently childish. He was evidently regarded with great veneration, both by the country people and my own servants, who said, "He must have been a good man to be allowed to live so long." In India, indeed, where the average duration of human life runs so low, such instances are naturally reckoned more wonderful than in the north of Europe. I know not how the idle stories arose, which are found in the ancient Greek writers, of Indian longevity. I remember Malte Brun supposes they must have been taken from the upper provinces; but here, in one of the finest and healthiest climates of the whole east, the age of man very seldom exceeds seventy. This old man had no means of support but begging, and his character of a religious person; he was, however, very cleanly and neatly dressed, with a large chaplet of beads, and was attended, to all appearance, very carefully, by a man who called himself his disciple.

Some men came with two young bears, exactly like those at Barrackpoor, and very tame. They wanted to make them fight before me, which I declined, but gave the men a trifle, and the bears my remaining stock of stale bread, for which I had no more human use. I asked where they were caught, and they told me in the mountains of Bundelcund.

In the evening I walked round the town, before the principal house of which, under a spreading tree, I found the old Aûmeen, stripped all but his waistcloth, cooking his supper in the simple

manner of a Hindoo. He followed me shortly after, and begged to introduce the principal "mohajun," or merchant, of the place, who wanted to see me. He was, as it appeared, a dealer in cloth, and in the other multiform commodities which generally stock an English country shop; a fat man, with a red turban, warmly and plainly, but neatly dressed, and looking like one well to pass in the world. He told me, in Eastern style, that my fame had gone through all the country, and that I was considered as the only great man who had come from foreign parts to Lucknow, with less disposition to take than to give money. "Most of them," he said, "come to strip us poor people." I certainly found myself, this evening, rather the sheared than the shearer, inasmuch as I had to take leave of the King of Oude's people, and give them their presents; they were all well satisfied with what they received. I had, again to-day, given up the goat which was brought for my use to the suwarra, and I found that these two successive dinners pleased them far more than even their fee, as being less expected. Nothing, however, seemed to give so much satisfaction to the Jemautdar as a certificate under my hand, and with my great seal, of his good conduct. The Aâmceen also, who, besides a couple of coarse shawls, got forty rupees, was greatly delighted with a similar paper, kissing the seal, and pressing it to his forehead with high respect. I told them I wished them to see me over the frontier next day, but they said they hoped for my permission to escort me fairly to Shahjehanpoor.

*November 10.*—From Oudunpoor to Shahjehanpoor is seven coss, of the same cultivated country. The frontier here is only an ideal line. Soon after I had entered the Company's territories, I was met by ten suwarra, very gaily dressed, but neither so fine men, nor so well mounted, as those of the King. They had been sent to meet me by Mr. Neave, the Judge of Shahjehanpoor. With them and the King's people, who would not relinquish their station, I rode on in high style, Câbul, (the name of my horse,) showing off in his best manner, as being much animated by so numerous a company; though, as we pranced up the street of Shahjehanpoor, I could not help thinking, that in the midst of this barbarous cavalcade, with musqueteers, spearmen, and elephants closing the procession, my friends at home would have had some difficulty in recognising me, or believing me to be a man of peace.

At the entrance of the town I passed the river Gurrak, a quiet, winding stream, over a little mean old bridge, by the side of a much more splendid one, begun some months since at the expense of the ex-minister of Oude, the Hukeem Mendee, who has a house and considerable property within the British territories in this district. The bridge would, if completed, have been a very good and extensive one, but is now much dilapidated, a great part of the unfinished work having fallen in during the rains.

Shahjehanpoor is a large place with some stately old mosques, and a castle. These are mostly

ruinous, but the houses are in good plight. The bazars shew marks of activity and opulence, and I could not help observing that there really is a greater appearance of ease, security, and neatness among the middling and lower classes of the Company's subjects, than among those of the King of Oude. I found my tent pitched just beyond the town, not far from the gates of the compound of Mr. Campbell, the Collector of the district, whose guest I was to be. I breakfasted and dined with him, and met most of the gentlemen of the station.

I found no professional duties to perform; but endeavoured, during the day, to persuade these gentlemen to remedy, in some little degree, in their secluded situation, the want of a Chaplain, (of which they complain, but which I see no chance of supplying at present,) by meeting at some convenient place on Sundays, and taking it by turns to read a selection, which I pointed out, from the Church Prayers, the Psalms, and lessons of the day, and a printed Sermon. I urged on them the example of Mr. Ricketts at Lucknow, and hope I produced some effect; at any rate I am glad I made the trial, and I think I gave no offence by doing so.

The conquest of Rohilcund by the English, and the death of its chief in battle, its consequent cession to the Nawâb of Oude, and the horrible manner in which Sujah ud Dowlah oppressed and misgoverned it, form one of the worst chapters of English history in India. We have since made the Rohillas some amends by taking them away from



Oude, and governing them ourselves ; but, by all which I could learn from the society this day concerning the present state of the province of Bareilly, the people appear by no means to have forgotten or forgiven their first injuries. The Mussulman chiefs, who are numerous, are very angry at being without employment under Government, or hope of rising in the State or Army, and are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence, which are little known in the other provinces of the Company's empire, but are favoured here by the neighbourhood of Oude, and the existence of a large forest along the whole eastern, southern, and northern frontiers. In this forest a rebel chief is by many supposed to have lurked the last seven years, for whose apprehension Government have vainly offered no less a sum than 10,000 rupees. Many robberies, are, certainly, still perpetrated in his name ; but the opinion of the magistrates at Shahjehanpoor is, that the man is really dead, and that his name only, like that of Captain Rock, remains as the rallying point of mutiny. The military officers of our dinner party had often been in this forest, which they describe as extensive, and in some places very picturesque, with some few tracts of high land, whence, even in this neighbourhood, the snowy range of Himalaya is visible.

The Rohilla insurgents are usually very faithful to each other, and, as in Oude there is neither police nor pursuit, it very seldom happens, if they once escape, that they can be laid hold of after-

wards. One of the most notorious of them, who had long eluded justice, came into the hands of Government not long since under very singular circumstances. He had passed over into Oude, and bought a Zemindarrie there, which was last year seized on, under circumstances of excessive injustice, by the servants of the favourite, who, at the same time, carried off one of his wives. The Zemindar, equally high-spirited and desperate with Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh under similar circumstances, rode immediately to Lucknow, scaled, by the assistance of his servants, the wall of the minister's private garden, and waited there well-armed, but alone, till his enemy should make his appearance. The minister did not himself appear, but his two youngest sons came out to walk with their ayahs. The Rohilla knew them, pounced on them like a tyger, and holding them between his knees, told the terrified women to go and call their master. The palace was soon in an uproar, but he sate still, with his back against the wall, the infants under his knees, and a pistol in each hand, calling out, "draw near, and they are both dead!" The minister wept and tore his flesh, promising him every thing if he would let them go; to which he answered, "the restoration of my wife, my own safety, and the guarantee of the British Resident for both!" The woman was immediately brought out, and the minister went like one frantic to the Residency, begging for God's sake either Mr. Ricketts or Major Raper to go with him. The latter went, and the Rohilla, after a horrible pause,

in which he seemed still to be weighing the sweetness of revenge against the promises held out to him, rose, took his wife by the hand, and led her away. He was not, however, satisfied with the security of his continuance in Oude, but soon after surrendered himself to the British, saying, that he knew he must look forward to a confinement of some time, but he preferred their severities to the tender mercies of the minister, who, in spite of his promise, had, he was convinced, already laid snares for him. He is now a prisoner in the castle of Allahabad, but it is generally believed that he has made his peace, and that his confinement will not be a long one, though his offences before were serious enough, and though it would be a strange reason for pardoning him, that he had been about to kill the two children of the prime minister of an allied power.

The soil and climate of Rohilcund are very fine ; the former produces every thing which is to be found in Oude, and the commodities are reckoned better, because, being under a better system of government and lighter taxes, the peasants bestow more pains on them. Their sugar, rice, and cotton are the most high-priced in India, and I was surprised to see not only the toddy and date-palms, but plantains common, while walnuts, strawberries, grapes, apples, and pears likewise thrive here.

I drove out after dinner, and thought the country pretty. It has the same fine tall trees with Oude, and the cultivation is decidedly neater, but the ground is not so agreeably undulating as that

which I have come over for the last few days. The hot winds are not much felt here, and on the whole it seems one of the most favoured districts between Lahore and Ava. I asked if they ever saw ice formed in the pools; but I do not think they could positively say they had; though hoar frost is no unusual occurrence, and ice is obtained without difficulty in shallow trenches, made for the purpose, and filled with water.

There are five companies of Sepoys at Shahjehanpoor, and several similar detachments scattered up and down the country. They seem, indeed, to have their hands tolerably full of work, and to lead nearly the same lives which soldiers similarly situated do in Ireland. They have, however, not the misery of enforcing revenue laws, and the greater number of cases either arise from civil suits respecting property, the decrees of which it is not the manner of the Rohillas to attend to very scrupulously, or from an inveterate habit of "lifting" cows and sheep, which the beggarly Zemindars and idle long-legged "gillies" of one village are always apt to feel a pride in exercising against those of the next. "Take care of that long-tailed horse of yours," was the first caution which I received. "Keep him carefully at night under the sentry's eye, or you will never carry him over the ferry of Anopshehr." I, therefore, gave an especial caution to the people about Cábul. The other horse having his tail cut, they are not so likely to meddle with.

*November 11.*—From Shahjehanpoor to Till-

hier, is seven coss, through a level and extremely well-cultivated country, intersected by the river Gurruk, another branch of which we crossed by a ferry. At Tillhier our encampment was in a noble grove of tall trees, with a large tank of clear water adjoining, the whole so like some of Poussin's landscapes, that one might have supposed him to have visited Rohilcund. The tindals, however, in the first instance, had stupidly chosen to pitch my tent where no shade approached, and close by the public track. As the day bid fair to be hot, I insisted on their doing their work over again, and thus gave them a lesson, which, I have reason to think, will make them in future more attentive.

The people here have a curious idea, which I have never seen any sign of in Bengal, that the shade of the tamarind-tree is unwholesome to man and beast. It is certain that trees of this description, though useful in so many ways, are seldom-planted in those beautiful groves where cofilas usually halt.

Mr. Neave and Mr. Campbell had the goodness to send some of their suwarrs with me. I did not see the necessity of it, but was told it would secure me attention from the village Thannadars and Tusildars.

In the evening, as usual, I walked about the town and neighbourhood, but attracted a considerably greater crowd than I expected, or than was quite convenient, though the people were exceedingly civil, anxious to shew me one curiosity after another, and neither asked, nor, apparently, expected

any fees for their trouble as ciceroni. I found a large party of Mussulmans celebrating the vigil of a saint who lies buried by the further side of the tank I mentioned. They had covered his tomb with a green cloth, had planted a number of green banners round it, and were drumming, after a very dissonant manner, to call the faithful to prayers. The congregation already assembled were, apparently, of the lower class of trades-people. Knowing that such solemnities generally produce an attack on the pockets of any great man who goes near them, and being well conversant with the Mussulman forms of worship, I should not have approached, but I happened to turn on them, round a corner, before I was aware. The Imâm immediately ran forwards, with some fragments of the sacred tomb in his hand, reciting the "bismillah" as he came along, and pressed me to draw near. I was consequently obliged to put a rupee down on the fragments, and had the honour, in return, of having my name recited in the prayers which followed.

There is a large but ruinous serai in the centre of the town, some very elegant fragments of the house, which, under the late Patan dynasty, was occupied by the Jemautdar of the district, and a ruinous old fort, pretty much like that at Suromunnuggur, within which the present Tussildar has built a small, but very neat, and almost elegant bungalow. Some noble old banyan-trees grow in different parts of the town, and my evening walk was, on the whole, an interesting one.

A strange receipt was suggested by one of these people for the benefit of Câbul's health, whose beauty attracts general notice, as well as his docility and fondness for me. It was a boiled sheep's head once in fourteen days! and the object was to make him strong and help his digestion. I asked Abdullah if he had ever heard of such a "messala," or mess, before? He answered, it was sometimes recommended, and he had tried it himself to his sorrow, since the horse never lived to have the dose repeated.

The same adviser wanted me to take off a joint of Câbul's tail, under the hair, so as not to injure his appearance. "It was known," he said, "that by how much the tail was made shorter, so much the taller the horse grew." I said "I could not believe that God gave any animal a limb too much, or one which tended to its disadvantage, and that as He had made my horse, so he should remain." This speech, such as it was, seemed to chime in wonderfully with the feelings of most of my hearers, and one old man said, that "during all the 22 years that the English had held the country, he had not heard so grave and godly a saying from any of them before." I thought of Sancho Panza and his wise apothegms, but I regretted that, without doing more harm than good, I could not, with my present knowledge of Hindoostanee, tell them any thing which was really worth their hearing. Yet, if my life is spared, I trust the time may come!—They told me the true name of the village is Camoun; why the Sahibs called it Tillhier they could

not tell. I suspect that several mal-entendus of this kind have occurred in Paton's routes, through the hasty manner in which names are sometimes asked for and set down by young officers on a journey. One of Mr. Neave's suwarra had a very handsome white horse, a native of Cutch, with the holloest back I ever saw, though yet quite young. He said, and Abdullah confirmed it, that all the Cutch horses have this "neshan," or mark, but it does not increase with age. The Cutch horses bear a good price, as being supposed to have Arab blood in them.

I have several times lately made enquiries about tygers, but both in Oude and in Rohilcund they are evidently rare, and unless a man goes into the woods to look after them, are very seldom seen. Fifteen or sixteen years ago they said a man had been killed by a tyger at Shahjehanpoor, and six or eight years ago, for they were not positive as to the exact time, some cows had been carried off by one in this neighbourhood. The Sahibs from Shahjehanpoor, they added, had a hunt and killed the tyger. They call this animal not "bagh," or "bahr," but "shehr," which is, strictly speaking, a lion; but there are no lions in this part of India; and they explained to me fully, that the "shehr" was, in their acceptation, the same animal which was elsewhere called "bahr."

*November 12.*—From Tillhier to Futtehgunge, is a distance of seven short coss, over a level, open, and comparatively naked country, with few villages, and less signs of cultivation, except that its



very nakedness is, in these wooded countries, a sign, which I have not seen since I left Lucknow. The road, however, was very good; we passed a small river by an excellent new bridge, and notwithstanding all which I had heard of the warlike and predatory habits of the Rohillas, the passengers whom I have met these two last days have been much less universally loaded with offensive and defensive weapons than in Oude, or even in the Dooab. Futtehgunge is a poor village, surrounded by a ruined mud wall, with two handsome brick gothic gateways. There is a noble mangoe-tope adjoining, covering, I should think, from twenty to thirty acres, under which my tent was pitched, and this time in a very convenient situation.

Here again the increased neatness and apparent comfort of the cottages over those of Oude, struck me forcibly. Undoubtedly a regular government, under which a man may eat the fruit of his labour, and display his little comforts without fear of their being taken from him, is an inestimable blessing. But it must be observed that I was not struck by any material difference between the villages of Oude and those which I had passed in my way between Allahabad and Cawnpoor, so that other causes, besides a difference of regime, may be supposed to operate in favour of the Rohillas. They have, indeed, the character of a cleanly and industrious people, and their land, before its conquest and transfer to Oude, is said to have been a perfect garden. From that time it grew worse

and worse, till on its cession to us by Saadut Ali, it was a frightful scene of desolation and anarchy. Its subsequent recovery has been rapid, but is not yet complete.

Within these two days I have noticed some fields of tobacco, which I do not think is a common crop in the districts through which I have hitherto marched. The Hindoostanee name is "tumbuc-coo," evidently derived, as well as the plant itself, through the Europeans, from America. How strange it is that this worthless drug should have so rapidly become popular all over the world, and among people who are generally supposed to be most disinclined from the adoption of foreign customs!

The Daroga of Futtehgunge called on me in the course of the morning, a fine looking man, with a full black beard, and a complexion very little darker than a southern European. He brought a present of two large geese, and was better dressed than most public functionaries of a corresponding rank in India. I asked him to sit down, which greatly pleased him. He told me that Futtehgunge, which means the Mart of Victory, was founded by the Nawab Suja ud Dowla, in memory of the great battle in which the last Patan Chief, Hafez Rehmut Khân, was slain, and which was fought between this place and Cuttrah in the year 1776, a little to the southward. This unfortunate man was an excellent sovereign, and the country under his government, notwithstanding the anarchy which had preceded it, was highly cultivated. He has been described as a noble old warrior with a long

grey beard, who led his cavalry on in a brilliant style against the allied armies. When his nobles, at the head of their respective clans, either treacherous or timid, gave way, he remained almost alone on a rising ground, in the heat of the fire, conspicuous by his splendid dress and beautiful horse, waving his hand, and vainly endeavouring to bring back his army to another charge, till seeing that all was lost, he waved his hand once more, gave a shout, and galloped on the English bayonets. He fell, shot through and through, and the brutal Suja ud Dowla applied for his body, that it might be cut in pieces, and his grey head carried on a pike through the country. The English General, however, had it wrapped in shawls, and sent with due honour to his relations. Still a sad stain seems to rest on the English name for the part they took in this business, and this with the murder of Nundemar, and the treatment which the Raja of Benares met with, are the worst acts of Mr. Hastings's administration.

The noble mangoe-tope was planted by the Jemautdar whom Hafez Rehmud established here, and is about 36 years old. These trees begin to decay in about 60 or 70 years, and seldom last much more than 100.

The Daroga was followed by the Tussildar, a man of not so splendid an appearance, but one whom I saw, by the bustle my servants made to receive him, was a person of some importance. I found, in fact, in the course of such conversation as I was able to carry on with him, that he was of

an illustrious family, which in ancient times had been sovereigns of the greater part of Rohilcund, but had been displaced by the family of Hafez Rehmüt. He was also, in comparison with the people of the eastern provinces, a fair man. His address was good and gentlemanly, but he had little to say except what related to the greatness of his ancestors, who had, he said, reigned at Ram-poor. He told me one curious fact, however, that the wheat now cultivated in Rohilcund, was propagated from seed brought from England since the conquest, by Mr. Hawkins. The English at Shah-jehanpoor had not mentioned this circumstance, though they spoke highly of the excellence of the bread made in this district. It answers, indeed, the beau idéal of Anglo-Indian bread, being excessively white, utterly tasteless, and as light as a powder-puff; when toasted and eaten dry with tea it is tolerably good, but I would as soon bestow butter on an empty honey-comb, which it marvellously resembles in dryness, brittleness, and apparent absence of all nourishing qualities. It is lamentable to see fine wheat so perversely turned into mere hair-powder. The native bread is nothing but baked dough, but I like it the best of the two. The Tussildar brought as a present three very fine lambs, which, my own dinner being already provided for, I sent to the Sepoys and to the other folks of the camp. I meant to have sent them all to the Sepoys, but I was assured that two would be sufficient for them, so far does a very little meat go with Hindoos, and when well mixed up in

currie; it is to be owned, however, that a considerable number of the Sepoys were likely to scruple eating meat.

During the last week we have almost every day fallen in with large parties of pilgrims, going to, or returning from, the Ganges, as well as considerable numbers of men bringing water from Hurdwar. The greatest proportion of the pilgrims are women, who sing in a very pleasing, cheerful manner, in passing near a village, or any large assembly of people. Once, as they passed my tents, their slender figures, long white garments, water-pots, and minstrelsy, combined with the noble laurel-like shade of the mangoe-trees, reminded me forcibly of the scene so well represented in Milman's *Martyr of Antioch*, where the damsels are going to the wood in the cool of the day, singing their hymns to Apollo. The male pilgrims, and those who carry water, call out, in a deep tone, "Mahadeo Bôl! Bôl! Bôl!" in which I observed my Hindoo servants and bearers never failed to join them.

My new acquaintance, the Tussildar, called again in the evening to ask if he could do any thing more for me, and to say he would see me again at the next station. I had in the mean time happened to find his pedigree and family history in Hamilton's *Gazeteer*, and pleased him much, I believe, by asking him which of the six sons of Ali Mohammed Khân he was descended from? He said, "Nawâb Ali Khân;" and added, that his own name was Mohammed Kasin Ali Khân. The father and founder of this family, Ali Mohammed Khân,

was a peasant boy, saved from a burning village, about the year 1720, by Daoood Khân, an Afghan, or Patan freebooter, who came into this country about that time, and after a long course of robbery and rebellion, at length became its sovereign. He adopted the foundling to the prejudice of his own children, and, on his decease, Ali Mohammed succeeded to the throne, and held it to his death. His six sons, as usual in such cases, quarrelled and fought. Nawâb Ali Khân, the fourth, was for some time the most successful; but all were at length overthrown by another chieftain, said to be of better family, Rehmut Khân. He, in his turn, was killed in battle by the English and men of Oude; and thus ended the sovereignty of Rohilcund. Of such strange materials were those dynasties chiefly composed, on whose ruins the British empire has been erected, and so easily did "the sabre's adventurous law" make and mar monarchs in the olden times of Hindostan!

A miserable little sickly man, wrapped in a ragged blanket, asked charity, saying, he was going with his wife and two children the pilgrimage to Mecca! What a journey for such a person! I advised him to return home, and serve God in his own land, adding, that He was every where, and might be worshipped in India as well as by the side of a black stone in Hejaz. He smiled in a melancholy way, as if he were partly of the same opinion, but said he had a vow. At home, indeed, he perhaps, to judge from his appearance, left nothing but beggary. I do not think that this pilgrimage

is very popular with the Indian Mussulmans. This is only the fourth person whom I have met with who appeared to have made it, or to be engaged in it; and yet the title of Hajee, which such persons assume, would, apparently, point them out to notice.

*November 13.*—From Futtehgunge to Furreedpoor is seven coss, through a country equally well cultivated, and rather prettier, as being more woody, than that which I saw yesterday. Still, however, it is as flat as a carpet. The road is very good, and here I will allow a gig might travel well, and be a convenience, but it would have made a poor figure in the plashy country on the other side of Lucknow, and have not been very serviceable in any part of the King of Oude's territories. We encamped in a smaller grove of mangoe-trees than the four or five last had been, but the trees themselves were very noble. The chief cultivation round us was cotton. The morning was positively cold, and the whole scene, with the exercise of the march, the picturesque groups of men and animals round me,—the bracing air, the singing of birds, the light mist hanging on the trees, and the glistening dew, had something at once so Oriental and so English, I have seldom found any thing better adapted to raise a man's animal spirits, and put him in good temper with himself and all the world. How I wish those I love were with me! How much my wife would enjoy this sort of life,—its exercise, its cleanliness, and purity; its constant occupation, and at the same time its comparative freedom from

form, care, and vexation ! At the same time a man who is curious in his eating, had better not come here. Lamb and kid, (and we get no other flesh,) most people would soon tire of. The only fowls which are attainable are as tough and lean as can be desired ; and the milk and butter are generally seasoned with the never-failing condiments of Hindostan, smoke and soot. The milk would be very good if the people would only milk the cow into one of our vessels instead of the r own ; but this they generally refuse to do, and refuse with much greater pertinacity than those who live near the river. These, however, are matters to which it is not difficult to become reconciled, and all the more serious points of warmth, shade, cleanliness, air, and water, are at this season no wl ere enjoyed better than in the spacious and well contrived tents, the ample means of transport, the fine climate, and fertile regions of Northern Hindostan. Another time, by God's blessing, I will not be alone in this Eden ; yet I confess there are very few people whom I greatly wish to have as associates in such a journey. It is only a wife, or a friend so intimate as to be quite another self, whom one is really anxious to be with one while travelling through a new country.

The Tussildar called again this afternoon, and brought three more lambs or goats, I am not sure which, for both are called " buckra" here. I, however, thought it too bad to take the firstlings of his flock in this unmerciful manner, and declined them as civilly as I could, giving him at the same time a



certificate of my satisfaction with his attentions, with my great seal appended,—a distinction of which I have discovered the value in native eyes, and mean only to give it to gentlefolks. He took his leave with a profusion of compliments, having got a “neknamee,” or character, and kept his mutton.

The evening was beautiful, and I walked round the village, which, however, had nothing in it worth seeing.

*November 14.*—From Furreedpoor to Bareilly is a distance of eight short coss, not much more than twelve miles, but to the cantonment, in the neighbourhood of which my tent was pitched, it is a mile and a half less. Mr. Hawkins, the senior judge of circuit, had offered the use of a large room in a house of his in the immediate neighbourhood of my encampment, for divine service, and I had the pleasure of finding a numerous congregation of the civil and military officers, with their families, as well as a good many Christians of humbler rank, chiefly musicians attached to the regiments stationed here, with their wives. I had, I think, sixteen communicants.

Bareilly is a poor ruinous town, in a pleasant and well-wooded, but still a very flat country. I am told, that when the weather is clear (it is now hazy) the Himalaya mountains are seen very distinctly, and form a noble termination to the landscape. Nothing, however, of the kind is now to be seen, though the distance is barely sixty miles. The nights and mornings are become, really, very

cold, and in my tent I find a blanket, a quilt, and my large cloak, no more than enough to keep me comfortable.

*November 15.*—I breakfasted and dined to-day at General Vanrenen's, and met a very large family party. They are extremely hospitable, kind-mannered and simple-hearted people, and the General has seen more of different parts of India than most men whom I have met. After breakfast I had a number of children brought to be baptized, three couples to be married, and one young woman, a native, but engaged to be married to an English soldier, who was a candidate for baptism. She spoke English a little, though imperfectly, and to my surprise was not much better acquainted with Hindoostanee, being a native of Madras. Her intended husband, however, a very respectable young man, had evidently taken much pains to instruct her in her new belief. She repeated the substance of the Lord's Prayer and Creed very well in English, and afterwards explained, in answer to my questions, the different clauses intelligibly in Hindoostanee. In Telinga, her husband assured me, she was very perfect in both. I explained to her myself, as far as our means of communication went, and got him to explain to her more fully, the obligations which she was to take on herself in baptism and marriage. For the former she seemed very anxious, and to judge from her extreme seriousness during the ceremony, and the trembling earnestness with which, both in English and Hindoostanee, she made the promises, I trust

it was not performed in vain. This day I baptized and married her. Her name was Cudjee, but her husband wished that she should now be called Susan. These ceremonies all took place at General Vanrenen's house, he having good-naturedly appointed the people to meet me there, as being more roomy than my tent, and more centrally situated with reference to those who were likely to attend.

I heard, in the course of conversation, many interesting particulars respecting the province of Rohilkund. Mr. Hawkins has been here many years, and holds to all intents and purposes the situation of civil governor : he has been in India forty-two years, during which time he has never returned home, and is evidently an extremely useful man in his present situation. I have not for a long time met with any one so interesting; how I wish she for whom I write this may one day see him! The account which he gives of the Rohillas is not very flattering. They are a clever and animated race of people, but devoid of principle, false, and ferocious. Crimes are very numerous, both of fraud and violence, and perjury almost universal. When he first came here the English were excessively disliked, and very few would so much as salam to either General or Magistrate; at present they are brought into better order, and, probably, better reconciled to a government, under which their condition, so far as tranquillity and the impartial administration of justice extend, has been greatly improved, and their land, from a mere desert, to

which the tyranny of Oude had reduced it, restored to its former state of cultivation and richness. But the country is burdened with a crowd of lazy, profligate, self-called suwarra, who, though many of them are not worth a rupee, conceive it derogatory to their gentility and Patan blood to apply themselves to any honest industry, and obtain for the most part a precarious livelihood by spunging on the industrious tradesmen and farmers, on whom they levy a sort of "black-mail," or as hangers-on to the few noble and wealthy families yet remaining in the province. Of these men, who have no visible means of maintenance at all, and no visible occupation except that of lounging up and down with their swords and shields like the ancient Highlanders, whom in many respects they much resemble, the number is rated at, perhaps, taking all Rohilcund together, not fewer than 100,000; all these men have every thing to gain by a change of Government, and both Mr. Hawkins and General Vanrenen said they hardly knew what it was that kept them down, considering the extremely inadequate force at present in these provinces. Twice, indeed, since the English have been in possession, their tenure of the country has appeared exceedingly precarious; and once when Jeswunt Row Holcar advanced to the fords of the Ganges, the whole European population of Bareilly were compelled to take refuge within the walls of the gaols, which they were prepared to defend to the last extremity.

The natural remedy for this state of things would

be to find a vent for a part of this superabundant population, by raising fencible regiments, who as they are really faithful to those whose salt they eat, would sufficiently keep their countrymen in order, and materially relieve the regular troops in some of their most unpleasant duties. They should be cavalry, on something like the footing of our yeomanry corps; they should be commanded by the Judges and Magistrates, with the aid of an Adjutant and Major from the regular army; and should be officered, so far as Captains and Lieutenants, by the most respectable of the native gentry. Such a measure I am the more convinced, the more I see of upper India, would very greatly contribute to the efficiency of the police, and the popularity and permanency of the Company's Government.

A strong impression has lately prevailed in all these provinces, arising, I cannot learn how, that the English were preparing to evacuate the country. The people, with whom Mr. Shore has had to deal, have pleaded this to justify their rebellion, or, at least, to account for their temerity<sup>1</sup>. Every

<sup>1</sup> The following circumstance is here alluded to. A strong body of free-booters having committed various devastations in the neighbourhood of Saharunpoor, a detachment under the command of Captain Young was sent against them, which was accompanied by the honourable F. J. Shore, who held a civil employment in that district, with his suwarra. The banditti fled into the fort of Koonga, a place of considerable strength, which could only be entered by breaching; at the suggestion of Mr. Shore a tree was formed into a battering ram, and directed against the gate, he himself manning the foremost rope. When the breach was sufficiently opened, Captain Young, Mr. Shore, and another officer entered, followed by their men. The contest was so-

movement of troops and officers towards the east has been regarded as a part of the same system of abandonment and abdication; and it is even thought that my travelling, with a certain degree of official splendour, in an opposite direction, as it has attracted considerable notice and curiosity among the inhabitants of these distant regions, has had the effect of giving them more favourable thoughts of the security and permanency of the British Government.

*November 16.*—I breakfasted and passed the day with Mr. Hawkins at what he calls his country-house,—a large and handsome building very prettily situated, with a farm of 400 acres round it, little less neat and English-looking than if it had been in Norfolk. His trees are very fine, but the whole view is flat, though here again I was told I ought to see the mountains. In our return to Bareilly, I saw some interesting animals: a fine covey of wild peacocks arose at some little distance; a mongoose or ichneumon crossed the track, and at Mr. Hawkins's door we found a beautiful and rare animal of the deer kind, which had just been sent him as a present from the hills. It is now about the size of a large fallow-deer, with upright horns, not palmated, but is still young, and is expected to grow so tall and stout as to bear a saddle. It is of a brown colour, mixed with grey and black, and its hair very thick, and as coarse and strong as

vere, from the superiority of the enemy's, force, but decisive. Mr. Shore was opposed to several single combatants, and received two sabre wounds in the breast.—Ed

hogs' bristles. Mr. Hawkins said he thought it would turn the edge of a sword. It is a gentle and tame creature, eating from and licking the hands of any one who caresses it. It is called goonh, and is considered a great rarity in the plains, though among the mountains it is not uncommon, and sometimes used to carry the children of great men. It seems to be as yet unknown to European naturalists, at least I never heard the name, nor saw any drawing like it; were the horns palmated it would most resemble the elk.

I had been for some time in much doubt as to the expediency, after the many delays which I had experienced in my journey, of proceeding to Almorah, but what I heard during these few days at Bareilly determined me in the affirmative. Though an important station, it has never been visited by any Clergyman; and I was very anxious not only to give a Sunday to its secluded flock, but to ascertain what facilities existed for obtaining for them the occasional visits, at least, of a minister of religion, and for eventually spreading the Gospel among these mountaineers, and beyond them into Thibet and Tartary. The former of these objects I have good hopes of being able to accomplish; a residence in these cold and bracing regions may, in many cases, do as much good to Chaplains and Missionaries, exhausted by the heat of the plains, as a voyage to Europe would do; and good men may be well employed here, who are unequal to exertion in other parts of our eastern empire. To the second there are many obstacles, not likely, as

yet, to be overcome; and in encountering which considerable prudence and moderation will be necessary. But there are facilities and encouragements also, which I did not expect to find; and if God spare me life and opportunities, I yet hope to see Christianity revived, through this channel, in countries where, under a corrupted form indeed, it is said to have once flourished widely through the labours of the Nestorians<sup>1</sup>. My opinion as to the advantage which might arise from such a visit, was fully confirmed; and I found reason to believe that late as the season was, and much as I have to do, the present is likely to be the best, if not the only opportunity for such an excursion.

The whole skirt and margin of the mountains are surrounded by a thick forest of nearly two days' journey, with a marshy soil and an atmosphere, during two-thirds of the year, more pestilential than the Sunderbunds, or the grotto Del Cani; a literal "belt of death," which even the natives tremble to go near, and which, during the rains more particularly, the monkeys themselves are said to abandon. After the middle of November this is dry, practicable, and safe; so that the very delays which have thrown my arrival in Rohlcund so late, have given me an opportunity which I may, under the usual circumstances of my visitation, never have again, of penetrating into

<sup>1</sup> The Nestorians are a sect of ancient Christians, who take their name from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who lived in the fifth century, and whose doctrines were spread with much zeal through Syria, Egypt, Persia, India, Tartary, and China.—ED.



Kemaoon. Above all, every body tells me that, except in a case of real necessity, a journey into the Himalaya should never be undertaken by women and children: that camels, elephants, tents, and palanquins, nay, even horses, such as are usually ridden in the plains, must be left behind at Bamoury Ghât, and that nothing but mules, mountain-poneys, the "yâk," or Thibet cow, and active unencumbered foot-passengers, can make their way along the track and beside the precipices which are to be traversed. This, if true, destroys much of the hope which has already reconciled me to leaving many interesting spots unvisited, that I might see them at some future opportunity with my wife and children; and though I have little doubt that these difficulties are greatly exaggerated, still it is plain that without a previous reconnoitring, I could never take them such a journey, in defiance of such assurances. For the present excursion, Captain Satchwell, the acting Commissary General of the district, promised me the use of some mules, which Government were sending up to Kemaoon for the public service there. Mr. Boulderson, the Collector, offered me the loan of an able and experienced poney; and I received a letter from Mr. Traill, the Commissioner for the affairs of the hill countries, offering me every assistance in the last four mountain stages. Under these circumstances, I made up my mind not to miss the opportunity, and arranged to send off my tents, &c. on Wednesday evening, being the earliest moment at which my necessary arrangements could be completed.

*November 17.*—This day was chiefly taken up in packing. My plan was to take my whole caravan to Bamoury at the first rise of the hills, where the air is good, and supplies are plentiful, and leave them encamped there till my return. Accordingly I sent off in the evening the greater part of my escort, servants, and animals, retaining only ten Sepoys, some bearers, my horse, and the suwarree elephant with his mohout and coolie.

## CHAPTER XVII.

BAREILLY TO ALMORAH.

*First distant View of the Himalaya Mountains—Sheeshghur—Visit from Raja and Sons—Account of Terra—“ Essence of Owl”—Wretchedness of Inhabitants—Kulleanpoor—Tyger Hunt—Ruderpooor—Case of Malaria Fever—Burning the Jungle—Tandah—Bamoury—Beemthál—Water-Mill—Khasya Nation—Ramghúr—Sikh—Mount Meru—Pilgrim to Bhádrinath.*

NOVEMBER 18.—I went this morning from Mr. Hawkins's house to a village named Shahee, about sixteen miles, over a country like all which I had yet seen in Rohilcund, level, well cultivated, and studded with groves, but offering nothing either curious or interesting, except the industry with which all the rivers and brooks were dammed up for the purposes of irrigation, and conducted through the numberless little channels and squares of land which form one of the most striking peculiarities of Indian agriculture. The country is almost entirely planted with wheat, with a few fields of Indian corn, and the pulse called dál. I looked out vainly all the morning for the mountains, which, at the distance of fifty miles, for the nearest range is no further, ought certainly now to be within sight. All I saw, however, was a heavy line of black clouds, in the direction in which I knew them to be; and when this gradually melted be-

fore the rising sun, it was succeeded by a grey autumnal haze, through which nothing was distinguishable.

At Shahee I found Mr. Boulderson,<sup>1</sup> the collector of the district, encamped, in the discharge of his annual duty of surveying the country, inspecting and forwarding the work of irrigation, and settling with the Zemindars for their taxes. His tent, or rather his establishment of tents, was extremely large and handsome. That in which he himself lived was as spacious as those which were first sent me from Cawnpoor, with glass doors, a stove, and a canvas enclosure at one end, which, in Calcutta, would have passed for a small Compound. He had a similar enclosure at some little distance, adjoining his servants' tent, for cooking; and, on the whole, my tent, a regulation field-officer's, and my whole establishment, which I had till now thought very considerable for a single man, looked poor and paltry in comparison. For such a journey as mine, however, I certainly would not exchange with him; and the truth is, that to persons in his situation, who have no occasion to go far from home, or to make long marches, these luxuries are less cumbersome than they would be to me; while, on the other hand, they pass so much of their time in the fields, that a large and comfortable tent is to the full as necessary for them as a bungalow. Mr. Boulderson had good-naturedly waited two days at Shahee to give me time to overtake him, and now offered to accompany me to the foot of the hills at least, if not the first stage

amongst them. In the passage of the forest, with which he is well acquainted, he says he expects to be of service to me. He strongly recommends our pushing on through the forest in a single march. The distance, he allows, is too great, being 26 miles; but he regards it as a less evil to ourselves, our attendants, and animals, than remaining a day and night at Tandah, the intermediate station, a spot at which no season of the year can be considered as quite safe, either from fever or tygers. Against the former of these dangers I had been furnished with a set of instructions by Mr. Knight, the station surgeon of Bareilly. Natives, Mr. Knight thinks, are more liable to the complaint, and recover from it with greater difficulty, than Europeans, who are, in the first instance, better protected against the damp and unwholesome air, and whose full habit of living, and the high temperature of their health, make the work of depletion with them at once more easy and more effectual, than with men whose pulse is always feeble, and who sink at once into despondency on the attack of a disease which they know to be dangerous.

As to tygers, though we may possibly hear their roars, and see traces of their feet, it is not often that they venture near the fires of an encampment, or the formidable multitude of men which such an encampment as mine presents to them. Still, if a tyger shews himself, it will, in all probability, be at Tandah; and though I should not dislike to see the animal in its natural state, I am bound, for the sake of my half-naked and careless followers, and

my numerous train of animals, still more than my own, not to linger twelve hours in a spot of so bad reputation. In the day-time, at this season, and by those who merely pass along the beaten track, neither fevers nor tygers are usually to be apprehended. The latter, indeed, on any approaching bustle, keep themselves, at those hours, so close in cover, that those who seek them find it difficult enough to start them. Mr. Boulderson is a keen sportsman, and told me several interesting facts respecting the wild animals of this neighbourhood. The lion, which was long supposed to be unknown in India, is now ascertained to exist in considerable numbers in the districts of Baharunpoor and Loodianah. Lions have likewise been killed on this side the Ganges in the northern parts of Rohilcund, in the neighbourhood of Moradabad and Rampoor, as large, it is said, as the average of those in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. Both lions, where they are found, and tygers, are very troublesome to the people of the villages near the forest, who having no elephants, have no very effectual means of attacking them with safety. The peasantry here, however, are not a people to allow themselves to be devoured without resistance, like the Bengalees; and it often happens that, when a tyger has established himself near a village, the whole population turn out, with their matchlocks, swords, and shields, to attack him. Fighting on foot, and compelled to drive him from his covert by entering and beating the jungle, one or two generally lose their lives, but the tyger seldom es-

capacities; and Mr. Boulderson has seen some skins of animals of this description, which bore the strongest marks of having been fought with, if the expression may be used, hand to hand; and were in fact slashed all over with cuts of the "tul-war," or short scymitar. A reward of four rupees for every tyger's head brought in, is given by Government; and if the villagers of any district report that a tyger or lion is in their neighbourhood, there are seldom wanting sportsmen among the civil or military officers, who hear the news with pleasure, and make haste to rid them of the nuisance. A good shot, on an elephant, seldom fails, with perfect safety to himself, to destroy as many of these terrible animals as he falls in with.

In the afternoon Mr. Boulderson took me a drive in his buggy. This is a vehicle in which all Anglo-Indians delight, and certainly its hood is a great advantage, by enabling them to pay visits, and even to travel, under a far hotter sun than would otherwise be endurable. The country, however, in this neighbourhood, and every where except in the immediate vicinity of the principal stations, is strangely unfavourable for such vehicles. Our drive was over ploughed fields, and soon terminated by a small, but, to us, impassable, ravine. We had, however, a first view of the range of the Himalaya, indistinctly seen through the haze, but not so indistinctly as to conceal the general form of the mountains. The nearer hills are blue, and in outline and tints resemble pretty closely, at this distance, those which close in the vale of Clwyd. Above these

rose, what might, in the present unfavourable atmosphere, have been taken for clouds, had not their seat been so stationary, and their outline so harsh and pyramidical, the patriarchs of the continent, perhaps the surviving ruins of a former world, white and glistening as alabaster, and even at this distance of, probably, 150 miles, towering above the nearer and secondary range, as much as these last, (though said to be 7600 feet high,) are above the plain on which we were standing. I felt intense delight and awe in looking on them, but the pleasure lasted not many minutes, the clouds closed in again, as on the fairy castle of St. John, and left us but the former grey cold horizon, girding in the green plain of Rohilcund, and broken only by scattered tufts of peepul and mangoe-trees.

*November 19.*—This morning we went seven coss to Sheeshghur, over a worse cultivated country than the last day's stage, and one which had, evidently, suffered much from want of rain. The heavy and happy fall which had given plenty to Oude and the Dooab did not extend here, and except in a few places, where irrigation had been used, the rice and Indian corn had generally failed, and the wheat and barley were looking very ill. Where there are rivers or streams, irrigation is practised industriously and successfully, but there are few wells, and they do not seem, as in the Dooab and Oude, to draw water from them by oxen for their fields. The rain which falls is, in most seasons, said to be sufficient.

On leaving our encampment we forded the river



Bhagool, and afterwards, once or twice, fell in, during our march, with its windings. At last, soon after the sun rose, and just as we had reached a small rising ground, the mist rolled away and shewed us again the Himalaya, distinct and dark, with the glorious icy mountains, towering in a clear blue sky, above the nearer range. There were four of these, the names of three of which Mr. Boulton knew, Bhadrinâth, Kedar Nâth, and the peak above the source of the Ganges, the Meru of Hindoo fable. The fourth, to the extreme right, he did not know, and I could not find it in Arrow-smith's map. Bhadrinâth, he told me, is reckoned the highest. From hence, however, it is not the most conspicuous of the four. That we saw the snowy peaks at all, considering their distance, and that mountains twice as high as Snowdon intervened, is wonderful. I need hardly say that I wished for my wife to share the sight with me. But I thought of Tandah and the Terrai, and felt, on recollection, that I should have probably been in considerable uneasiness, if she and the children had been to pass the intervening inhospitable country.

Sheeshghur is a poor village, on a trifling elevation which is conspicuous in this level country. It has a ruinous fort on its summit, and altogether, with the great surrounding flat and the blue hills behind it, put me in mind of some views of Rhuddlan. The Clwydian chain, indeed, is not crowned by such noble pinnacles as Bhadrinâth and Gango-tree, but I could not help feeling now, and I felt it still more when I began to attempt to command the

prospect to paper, that the awe and wonder which I experienced were of a very complex character, and greatly detached from the simple act of vision. The eye is, by itself, and without some objects to form a comparison, unable to judge of such heights at such a distance. Carneth Llewellyn and Snowdon, at certain times in the year, make, really, as good a picture as the mountains now before me; and the reason that I am so much more impressed with the present view, is partly the mysterious idea of awful and inaccessible remoteness attached to the Indian Caucasus, the centre of earth,

“ Its Altar, and its Cradle, and its Throne; ”

and still more the knowledge derived from books, that the objects now before me are really among the greatest earthly works of the Almighty Creator's hands,—the highest spots below the moon—and out-topping, by many hundred feet, the summit of Cotopasi and Chimborazo.

I had two sets of visitors to-day, the first were a set of Nâch-women, accompanied by a man, who beat a small drum, and a naked boy, who seemed the son of the elder of the three females. The whole party were of the “ cunja,” or gipsey caste, with all its most striking peculiarities. The women would have been good-looking, had not their noses been distorted, and their ears lengthened by the weighty ornaments suspended from them. Their arms, legs, and necks were loaded with rings and chains, and their dress was as tawdrily fine as their

poverty would admit of. The man and boy were in all respects but clothing, the same description of animal which might steal a hen or open a gate for a traveller in the neighbourhood of Norwood. I gave them a trifle but declined seeing their performance. The second set of visitors were an old Raja and three sons and a grandson, who were introduced by Mr. Boulderson. Their ancestors had possessed a considerable territory, but the Patan wars had lowered them down to simple, and far from wealthy, landowners, whose main dependance is, at present, on a pension of 4,000 s. rupees a year, allowed them by the Company. The Raja was a homely, cheerful old man, with a white beard and unusually fair complexion; and excepting the few swords and shields in his train, neither he nor his sons had much which differed from the English idea of respectable yeomen. Their visit was not long: I gave them, at taking leave, lavender-water by way of pawn and attar; and the old Raja (on account of the supposed sanctity of my character, in which I heartily wish I more accorded with their ideas of me) desired me to lay my hand on his back and that of his sons, and bless them. His business with Mr. Boulderson chiefly respected an embankment which he wished to make on the neighbouring small river Kullee, in order to throw the water over many acres of land, some of which we had crossed, which were now altogether dependant on rain, and sometimes, as in the present year, unproductive. The embankment had been commenced, but was opposed by the Nawâb of Rampoor, a de-

scendant of Ali Mohammed Khân, already mentioned, and who still holds a very productive Jag-hire, as large as an English county, extending from the neighbourhood of Moradabad almost to the foot of these mountains. He maintained that the proposed work would drown some of his villages. We went in the afternoon to see the place; and I endeavoured, by the help of a very rude extempore levelling instrument, made of the elephant-ladder, four bamboos, and a weighted string, to ascertain the real course which the water would take, and how high the dam might be raised without danger of mischief. My apparatus, rude as it was, was viewed with much wonder and reverence by these simple people; and as I kept on the safe side, I hope I did some good, or, at least, no harm by my advice to them. The Ryuts of the Nawâb, indeed, as well as the Raja and his sons, professed themselves perfectly satisfied with the line proposed.

Mr. Boulderson said he was sorry to learn from the Raja, that he did not consider the unhealthy season of the Terrai as yet quite over. He, therefore, proposed that we should make a long march of above twenty miles the following day to Ruderpoor, in order to be as short a time in the dangerous country as possible. I was, for several reasons, of a different opinion. My people and Sepoys had already had two long marches through very bad and fatiguing roads. That to Ruderpoor was described as worse than any which we had yet seen. As Ruderpoor is reckoned only a shade less dangerous than Tandah, to halt there on the Sunday

would be impossible, and we should have on that day also a march of twenty-five miles through the forest to Bamoury. Besides my reluctance to subject the men to so great fatigue on such a day, I had always understood that lassitude was among the most powerful predisposing causes to fever, and I could not think, without uneasiness, of any of them being tired out and lagging behind in so horrible a country. The direct way to Ruderpoor lay through the Nawâb's territory, and Manpoor, the intervening station, was by no means a desirable one, either from its air or the mutinous character of its inhabitants. A little to the right, however, was a village named Kulleanpoor, within the Company's border, and at least not more unwholesome than its neighbours. The distance was eight or nine short coss, which would do nobody any harm. There would remain a stage of six or seven miles to Ruderpoor on Sunday, which might be done without any nightly travelling, and leave both men and cattle fresh next morning for our long march to the mountains. For Europeans there was in either place little risk; our warm clothing, warm tents, elevated bedsteads, mosquito-nets, (a known preservative against malaria) and our port wine, would probably be sufficient safeguards, but for the poor fellows who sleep on the ground, and are as careless of themselves as children, it behoved me to take thought, and Mr. Boulderson, for the reasons which I have mentioned, agreed with me in the opinion that Kulleanpoor should be our next stage.

I asked Mr. Boulderson if it were true that the monkeys forsook these woods during the unwholesome months. He answered that not the monkeys only, but every thing which had the breath of life instinctively deserts them, from the beginning of April to October. The tygers go up to the hills, the antelopes and wild hogs make incursions into the cultivated plain; and those persons, such as Dâk-bearers, or military officers, who are obliged to traverse the forest in the intervening months, agree that not so much as a bird can be heard or seen in the frightful solitude. Yet during the time of the heaviest rains, while the water falls in torrents, and the cloudy sky tends to prevent evaporation from the ground, the forest may be passed with tolerable safety. It is in the extreme heat, and immediately after the rains have ceased, in May, the latter end of August, and the early part of September, that it is most deadly. In October the animals return; by the latter end of that month the wood-cutters and the cowmen again venture, though cautiously. From the middle of November to March, troops pass and repass, and with common precaution no risk is usually apprehended.

*November 20.*—The way to Kulleanpoor turned out exceedingly bad, rugged, and intersected by nullahs and “gools,” or canals for the purpose of irrigation, so that our baggage, though sent off at five in the evening of the 19th, did not arrive till five the next morning, and both camel-drivers and Sepoys complained a good deal. It turned out, however, that they had been themselves partly to

blame, in not, according to my directions, taking a guide, and consequently losing their way. The country is by no means ill-cultivated thus far, but as we approach the forest it gradually grows marshy and unwholesome, and the whole horizon, at some little distance, was wrapped in a thick white mist, which Mr. Boulderson called "Essence of Owl," the native name for the malaria fever. The villages which we passed were singularly wretched, though there is no want of materials for building, and the rate of land is very low. It seems, however, as if the annual ague and fever took away all energy from the inhabitants, and prevented their adopting those simple means of dry and well-raised dwellings, and sufficient clothing, which would go far to secure their health and life. They are a very ugly and miserable race of human beings, with large heads and particularly prominent ears, flat noses, tumid bellies, slender limbs, and sallow complexions, and have scarcely any garments but a blanket of black wool. Most of them have matchlocks, swords, and shields, however; and Mr. Boulderson pointed out two villages, near which we passed, which had last year a deadly feud, ending in a sort of pitched battle, in which nine men were killed, and several wounded. It was necessary to despatch a corps of Sepoys to the spot to settle the quarrel, by bringing a few of the ring-leaders on both sides to justice. So expert are men, even when most wretched, in finding out ways and means of mutually increasing their misery!

The only satisfaction to be derived from a journey

through such a country, is to look steadily at the mountains beyond it, which increase as we advance in apparent magnitude and beauty. The snowy peaks, indeed, are less and less distinguishable; but the nearer range rises into a dignity and grandeur which I by no means was prepared for, and is now clearly seen to be itself divided into several successive ridges, with all the wildest and most romantic forms of ravine, forest, crag, and precipice. They are now perceptibly and obviously, even to the eye, the highest mountains I ever saw sufficiently near to judge of them. There may be some peaks of the Norwegian Alps, such as Dovre and Fille Fiel, and there are, as is, I believe, ascertained, some points of Caucasus which considerably surpass them, and take a middle place between them and the giants in their rear, but the general chain of Norwegian hills, so far as I can recollect, does not equal these now before me; and the white peaks of Caucasus I saw only from a great distance. Notwithstanding the height, however, of this secondary chain of the Himalaya, I could see no snow on it, but Mr. Boulderson assured me that in a few weeks more it would be pretty plentifully powdered, and the probability was that even now I should have some showers of snow in my passage. On the northern side of the hills he had known snow lie till the latter end of May, when nothing could be more strange and sudden than the change in the feelings of a traveller descending from those regions to the hot winds and fiery furnace of the plains.



At the foot of the lowest hills a long black level line extends, so black and level that it might seem to have been drawn with ink and a ruler. This is the forest from which we are still removed several coss, though the country already begins to partake of its insalubrity. It is remarkable that this insalubrity is said to have greatly increased in the last fifteen years. Before that time Ruderpoor, where now the soldiers and servants of the police Thanna die off so fast that they can scarcely keep up the establishment, was a large and wealthy place, inhabited all the year through without danger or disease. Nay, Tandah itself, ten years back, was the favourite and safe resort of sportsmen from Bareilly and Moradabad, who often pitched their tents there, without injury, for ten days together. The forest, was, in fact, under a gradual process of reclamer; the cowmen and woodmen were pushing their incursions farther every year, and the plain where we were now travelling, though always liable to fever and ague, was as populous and habitable as many other parts of India where no complaints are heard. The unfavourable change is imputed by the natives themselves to depopulation; and they are no doubt philosophically right, since there seems to be a preservative in the habitation, cultivation, nay, perhaps in the fires, the breath, and society of men, which neutralizes malaria, even in countries naturally most subject to it. The instance of Rome and its adjacent territory is exactly a similar one, and I recollect being told that in proportion to the number of empty houses

in a street, the malaria always raged in it. The depopulation of these countries arose from the invasion of Meer Khân, in 1805. He then laid waste all these Pergunnahs, and the population, once so checked, has never recovered itself. There was, indeed, in former times, a cause which no longer exists, which tended materially to keep up the stock of inhabitants in the Terrai, inasmuch as, from the nature and circumstances of their country, they were free from many of the oppressions to which the other peasants of Rohilcund were liable, paying very light taxes, and living almost as they pleased under the patriarchal government of their own Rajas. Their taxes are still light enough, but the hand of the law is, under the present government, felt here as in other parts of the province; and as the inhabitants of the more wholesome district have fewer motives than formerly to fly from their homes to these marshes, so the inhabitants of the marshes themselves have less powerful reasons for clinging to their uncomfortable birth-place, and the tide of emigration is turned into a contrary direction.

Kulleanpoor, (the town of granaries,) is a very wretched place, but stands on an apparently dry and open plain, with one or two clumps of fruit-trees, where, certainly, I should not have suspected any thing amiss in the air. At this time of the year there probably is nothing unwholesome; and all the year round, the people of the place said, both its air and water bore a better character than most of its neighbours. Many of them, however, looked

very sickly, and the Thannadar, who came to pay his compliments, was yellow as gold, with his nails as blue as if he had been poisoned, and shaking pitifully in the cold fit of the country fever, which had, he said, hung on him for some months back. Here, indeed, as in other aguish countries, the disease often kills very slowly, and many persons have a regular attack every May, which leaves them wretchedly weak in November, and from the effects of which they have just time to recover before the fatal month comes round again. With others, however, it is far less ceremonious, and assumes, from the beginning, a typhus form, which seldom leaves the patient many days in suspense. Mr. Boulderson has had it twice; the second time he was left by it in so bad a state of health as to make it necessary for him to go to the Cape. By his account it is precisely an intermittent fever, but of the worst kind, resembling, in most of its symptoms, that of Walcheren and the Sunderbunds, and arising from nearly the same circumstances of soil and climate which may be supposed to produce the latter.

The natives have a singular notion that it is not the air but the water of these countries which produces "Owl." The water is certainly not clear or well-tasted, either at Sheeshghur or Kulleanpoor, and Mr. Boulderson has brought a stock of Bareilly water for our own drinking. I cannot, however, see any thing about it which is likely to do so much mischief, and the notion is an unfortunate one, inasmuch as it leads them to neglect all precautions against the other and more formidable

causes of disease. I have tents sufficient to shelter all the people who accompany me, and I had offered, at Sheeshghur, if the Sepoys found themselves crowded, to receive the Soubahdar and some of the non-commissioned officers, at night, under my own tent. Yet it was with great difficulty that I could persuade either them or the camel-drivers to forsake their favourite system of sleeping with their heads wrapped up, but with the greater part of their clothes off, in the open air, round their fires. They were exceedingly unwilling to pitch their tents at all, saying, it did not signify, that the fog did no harm, and the water was the cause of all the mischief. In fact there was good reason to hope, from what we learned at Kulleanpoor, that the mischief was over for the present year, and that our old Raja of yesterday had been indulging in the very usual amusement of making matters as bad as possible.

I had to-day, again, a princely visitor, in the Raja Gourman Singh, another of these border chieftains, whose father, "Lall Singh," (Red Lion,) had been sovereign of all Kemaon, till he was driven by the Gorkhas to take shelter within the Company's border. Government gave him a jag-hire of eight villages in the Terrai, and his son holds a Zemindarrie of twelve or thirteen more. On the conquest of Kemaon by the British arms, they had hoped to be reinstated, but the conquerors found it convenient, according to our usual policy in the East, to act as much as possible on the principle of maintaining things as they found

them. And their cousin, the Raja whom the Gorkhas had set up, was confirmed in the same dependant sovereignty which he held under them. Gourman Singh's claim to the throne, is, however, disputed, and with apparent justice, by another cousin, the son of his father's elder brother, who has a house near Ruderpoor. The existence of this person, then a child, was unknown, when the appointments and jaghires of old Lall Singh were continued to his son, and he remained in great poverty till two or three years ago, when a pension was given him also. Indeed, Gourman's title of Singh is a proof that he was of the second house, the elder, or royal branch, having the title of Chund. Lall Singh was, however, a great favourite with all the English in these parts. Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Boulderson both spoke of him as one of the finest old men whom they had seen, with considerable talent, an uncommon degree of dignity in his air and countenance, and one of the most heavenly tempers that can be conceived. Though by no means deficient in firmness, he was never known to utter an angry word, or to punish any of his dependents till a day and night had intervened to give time for reflection. With narrow means he was splendidly charitable to the poor; and, in fact, as good and holy a man, (a male Alia Bhaee,) as his very imperfect religion would enable him to become. He was regarded as a saint both by Hindoos and Mussulmans, and a message from him would have brought together all the population of the border, from the Ganges to the Lohoo Ghât,

to lay down their lives in any cause which he might favour. He behaved with admirable fidelity to the English on all occasions, but he was almost ruined by Meer Khân's irruption. It was, however, partly made up to him by a pension, to himself and his son, of 10,000 rupees, and the latter is considered as wealthy.

The young Raja had been described to me as a fine animated man, with whom I should be much pleased, but I saw him under unfavourable circumstances. He had had the same fever with the rest of the world, was looking very yellow, and, as Mr. Boulderson said, unusually silent and out of spirits. His manners and appearance were, however, gentlemanly, and his shew of attendants far greater than that of the poor Raja of Sheeshghur. He expressed his intention of meeting us again at Bamoury, at the foot of his own hills, and wanted Mr. Boulderson to accompany him from thence to a village which, though actually on the verge of the forest, he recommended as more healthy and better adapted for a civil and military station, than Ruderpoor. Ruderpoor is, indeed, his property, and Mr. Boulderson observed, that he was evidently very anxious to remove the Thanna to some distance. The young man said that people in this country liked to live without trouble or interference; that the police were now continually requiring their attendance either as witnesses or arbitrators; that they sometimes got subpoenas as far as to Bareilly; that, in short, when the attorney was added to the ague the place became insupportable,

of their horns. He could have shot it, but did not like to fire at present, and said it was, after all, a pity to meddle with such harmless animals. The mohr accordingly ran off unmolested, rising with splendid bounds up to the very top of the high jungle, so that his whole body and limbs were seen from time to time above it. A little further, another rose, which Mr. Boulderson said was the female; of her I had but an imperfect view. The sight of these curious animals had already, however, well repaid my coming out, and from the animation and eagerness of every body round me, the anxiety with which my companions looked for every waving of the jungle-grass, and the continued calling and shouting of the horse and foot behind us, it was impossible not to catch the contagion of interest and enterprize.

At last the elephants all drew up their trunks into the air, began to roar, and to stamp violently with their fore feet, the Raja's little elephant turned short round, and in spite of all her mohout could say or do, took up her post, to the Raja's great annoyance, close in the rear of Mr. Boulderson. The other three, (for one of my baggage elephants had come out too, the mohout, though unarmed, not caring to miss the show,) went on slowly but boldly, with their trunks raised, their ears expanded, and their sagacious little eyes bent intently forward. "We are close upon him," said Mr. Boulderson, "fire where you see the long grass shake, if he rises before you."—Just at that moment my elephant stamped again violently. "There,

there," cried the mohout, "I saw his head!" A short roar, or rather loud growl, followed, and I saw immediately before my elephant's head the motion of some large animal stealing away through the grass. I fired as directed, and, a moment after, seeing the motion still more plainly, fired the second barrel. Another short growl followed, the motion was immediately quickened, and was soon lost in the more distant jungle. Mr. Boulderson said, "I should not wonder if you hit him that last time; at any rate we shall drive him out of the cover, and then I will take care of him." In fact, at that moment, the crowd of horse and foot spectators at the jungle side, began to run off in all directions. We went on to the place, but found it was a false alarm, and, in fact, we had seen all we were to see of him, and went twice more through the jungle in vain. A large extent of high grass stretched out in one direction, and this we had now not sufficient day-light to explore. In fact, that the animal so near me was a tyger at all, I have no evidence but its growl, Mr. Boulderson's belief, the assertion of the mohout, and what is perhaps more valueable than all the rest, the alarm expressed by the elephants. I could not help feeling some apprehension that my firing had robbed Mr. Boulderson of his shot, but he assured me that I was quite in rule; that in such sport no courtesies could be observed, and that the animal in fact rose before me, but that he should himself have fired without scruple if he had seen the rustle of the grass in time. Thus ended my first, and pro-



bably my last essay in the "field sports" of India, in which I am much mistaken, notwithstanding what Mr. Boulderson said, if I harmed any living creature.

I asked Mr. Boulderson, in our return, whether tyger hunting was generally of this kind, which I could not help comparing to that chace of bubbles which enables us in England to pursue an otter. In a jungle, he answered, it must always be pretty much the same, inasmuch as, except under very peculiar circumstances, or when a tyger felt himself severely wounded, and was roused to revenge by despair, his aim was to remain concealed, and to make off as quietly as possible. It was after he had broken cover, or when he found himself in a situation so as to be fairly at bay that the serious part of the sport began, in which case he attacked his enemies boldly, and always died fighting. He added that the lion, though not so large or swift an animal as the tyger, was generally stronger and more courageous. Those which have been killed in India, instead of running away when pursued through a jungle, seldom seem to think its cover necessary at all. When they see their enemies approaching, they spring out to meet them, open-mouthed, in the plain, like the boldest of all animals, a mastiff dog. They are thus generally shot with very little trouble, but if they are missed or only slightly wounded, they are truly formidable enemies. Though not swift, they leap with vast strength and violence, and their large heads, immense paws, and the great weight of their body

forwards, often enable them to spring on the head of the largest elephants, and fairly pull them down to the ground, riders and all. When a tyger springs on an elephant, the latter is generally able to shake him off under his feet, and then woe be to him ! The elephant either kneels on him and crushes him at once, or gives him a kick which breaks half his ribs, and sends him flying perhaps twenty paces. The elephants, however, are often dreadfully torn, and a large old tyger sometimes clings too fast to be thus dealt with. In this case it often happens that the elephant himself falls, from pain or from the hope of rolling on his enemy, and the people on his back are in very considerable danger both from friends and foes, for Mr. Boulderson said the scratch of a tyger was sometimes venomous, as that of a cat is said to be. But this did not often happen, and in general persons wounded by his teeth or claws, if not killed outright, recovered easily enough.

*November 21.*—Our road to-day was, though intersected by two or three water-courses, rather less rugged than the day before. The country, however, is dismal enough, leaving every where the marks of having been cultivated at no distant period, but now almost all overgrown with a rank vegetation of a dusky, poisonous-looking plant, something like nightshade, and tall jungle-grass, often considerably higher than the head of a man on horseback, through which we pushed our way like Gulliver in the Patagonian corn-field. At last, we emerged on a somewhat higher and drier ground,

where were some of the largest peepul-trees I ever saw, but still offering a wild and dismal shade choked up below with the vile underwood which I have mentioned, and a narrow and boggy path winding through it. On the other side we found ourselves among ill-cultivated rice-fields, beyond which was a magnificent range of mangoe-topes, and some tombs and temples peeping out from among them. On my expressing some surprise to see these appearances of wealth and splendour at Ruderpoor, Mr. Boulderson observed that I should soon change my opinion.

We found, in fact, on drawing nearer, all the usual marks of a diminished and sickly population, a pestilential climate, and an over-luxuriant soil. The tombs and temples were all ruins, the houses of the present inhabitants, some two or three score of wretched huts, such as even the gypseys of the open country would hardly shelter in; the people sate huddled together at their doors, wrapped in their black blankets, and cowering round little fires, with pale faces and emaciated limbs, while the groves which looked so beautiful at a distance, instead of offering, as mangoe-topes do in well-peopled and cultivated spots, a fine open shade with a dry turf and fresh breeze beneath it, were all choked up with jungle and nightshade like the peepul-trees we had lately passed amongst. Mr. Boulderson said that every time he had been here before, he had found tygers in these topes, and that he would have now sent an elephant or two through the bushes by way of precaution, had he not known,

from the testimony of the Rajah Gourman Singh, that there was no other in the neighbourhood but that which we had pursued the day before, and which was four or five miles off.

With all this Ruderpoor is a very striking and, in many respects, a beautiful spot. The soil is evidently of an exuberant richness. The grass far overtopped the miserable houses; the few slovenly fields of wheat and "badgerow," a kind of maize, were uncommonly strong, flourishing, and luxuriant. The plantains in the gardens were the tallest and broadest I had ever seen, and the castor-oil plant, the prickly pear, and the aloe, formed thickets of impenetrable solidity. A bright and rippling stream, which I should never have suspected of yielding unwholesome water, ran round the village; and our tents were pitched on a grassy lawn, eaten down by cattle, and therefore not troublesomely high, under the shade of some enormous old mangoe-trees, and commanding a very advantageous view of the mountains, of which, however, the nearer ranges were now all which were visible. Here again we found the village magistrate ill of fever and ague, too ill indeed to come out to meet us. The second in authority, who brought his apology and nuzzur, said, however, that no new fevers were likely to be contracted now, the cold season having set in, and the people having begun to go out to burn the jungles. After breakfast I read prayers with Mr. Boulderson and Abdullah; and when the day grew warm the head man of the village ventured out to call on

me, and beg for some medicine. He was a decent-looking man, very neatly and cleanly dressed, but looking grievously ill, and I felt very sorry that I had so little skill to help him. His fever had been on him some time, and he had hot and cold fits every alternate day, but both increased at each return in violence and duration. I made him sit down, which he was very unwilling to do, though quite unfit to stand, and he told me his case very clearly and intelligibly. His hot fit was then on him, his pulse high, and his tongue white, with a little mixture of yellow. No saffron could be yellower than his skin. I would have given him an emetic but was afraid, and judged beside that his complaint had been too long on him to receive benefit from it. I therefore gave him some calomel pills, bidding him take two as soon as he got home, and one or two every day the fever returned, giving him, for the intermitting days, a bottle of decoction of gentian, having scarcely any bark by me. Nothing could be more grateful than he seemed; and I am sure that, if faith in a remedy is likely to contribute to its efficacy, that requisite at least was not wanting in him. Mr. Boulderson afterwards told me that gentian was an usual and valuable medicine in the malaria fever.

We walked about a little in the afternoon, and finished our day with evening prayers.

*November 22.*—The march between Ruderpoor and Bamoury is not one which can with propriety be made by night, and we therefore kept our tents and people quiet till four o'clock in the morning,

when they all, as I then supposed, set off in admirable military order, with advanced and rear guard, and main body, the venerable Soubahdah on his little poney in the centre. Mr. Boulderson could not conveniently march so soon, and, on my tent being pulled down, I went to one of his, which he meant to leave at Ruderpoor to await his return, and read and wrote till he was ready for breakfast at half-past seven; at eight we ourselves started on our elephants, and under the shade of chattahs, which protected us quite sufficiently from the sun. In fact, on an elephant's back a traveller is so well raised above the reflected heat of the plain, and gets so much of whatever breeze is stirring, that, at this time of the year, and in these latitudes, I should care little for the sun even at the hottest time of the day.

Our road lay along an elevated causeway, across an open marshy plain, with many marks of former cultivation, but all now neglected except as pasture. Just as we were setting out the Rajah Gourman Singh joined us on his little elephant, with a small train of suwarrs and peons armed with matchlocks, and bringing with him a brace of florikens, which he had shot the previous day. I had never seen the bird before; it is something larger than a black-cock, with brown and black plumage, and evidently of the bustard species. We thus went on about five miles, when to my great vexation, I found the mules, which I supposed were half-way to Bamoury, grazing by the road side, and the muleteers sitting huddled up in their blankets; I found that, out of

pure laziness, and not liking to set off so soon as four o'clock, these people, who were encamped a little separate from the rest, had eluded Abdullah's vigilance, and had not set off with the cofila ; that one of the mules had broken his girth at the spot where I found them, and that, on the pretence that they were unable to mend it, they had thus stopped short, in about as bad a place as they could have selected. My mahout undertook to mend the girth, which operation indeed was only that of tying a fresh knot on a piece of rope, and I scolded them on as well as I could, in which the mahout joined me, asking them if they meant to remain all night in the forest. They evidently heartily disliked the journey on which they were going, and one of their original number had deserted two nights before. I had, however, no disposeable attendants to leave to force them on, and I did not think that they would either venture to desert their mules in the forest, or remain there all night themselves, and trusted to their fear of tygers as a sufficient motive for their following me as closely as possible. They again dropped behind, however, before we reached Tandah, and only two out of four men, and seven out of twelve mules made their appearance at night at Bamoury.

About six miles from Ruderpoor the plain became wilder and more forest-like. The grass on either side of the road was almost as high as my elephant, with beautiful white silky tufts. A great many scraggy trees were scattered on either side, whose branches and trunks shewed the marks of

the yearly conflagration with which the cowmen prepare the pasture for their cattle. The jungle in this place was still too green to burn; but we saw some smoke rising in different places before us, and Mr. Boulderson observed that it was fortunate that the fires were apparently on the leeward side of the road. The last time he passed the forest, he and his brother had been in considerable danger from the flames, and were obliged to put their elephants to a full gallop, and cross a deep and difficult nullah to avoid them. The process, however, full as much as the cool season, by admitting a free current of air between the trees, contributes to make the forest healthy, and when the young grass has sprung up, and the scorched trees have recovered their leaves, many beautiful glades, Mr. Boulderson said, open on both sides, and the ride is both picturesque and pleasant. As it was, I own, I saw nothing appalling or menacing in the "valley of death." The grass was high and the jungle thick, so thick that it was sometimes with difficulty that, even on the raised causeway, we could force our way through it; but there was nothing of that dark, dank, deadly-looking vegetation which we had seen at Ruderpoor; and the majestic trees which from time to time towered over the underwood, the songs of the birds, and the noble hills to which we were approaching, made me think I had passed very many days in India more unpleasantly.

Tandah is a small place, from which the woods are cleared, now quite overgrown with long grass,



with a little brook winding close to the road, and a hut for a police establishment, which I know not why, but at a great expense of human life, is kept up here. This is the only place where water is to be found, till travellers are close on Bamoury. Half-way between the two, Government some years since endeavoured to sink a well. They expended a good deal of money, and a sad number of lives, both of natives and superintendants, and, after all, found no water; though if the workmen had had the wit to dig a small channel for the water from the hills, the object might have been answered cheaply and effectually. As it is, it is something strange that the high road to Almorah has been made, at a great expense, to run this way at all. It is, indeed, some little shorter than either of the other two, by Lohoo Ghât and Chilkeah, and the way over the hills is shorter and more easy. But then Chilkeah is free, in comparison, from malaria; and the belt of forest so narrow in that direction, that a safe communication might be secured at all times of the year. For this and other reasons I made up my mind to return from Almorah that way.

At Tandah Mr. Boulderson had posted his gig, with a fresh horse, further on, about half-way through the forest. I accompanied him, and found the road better than I expected, though we had several delays from broken bridges, thick jungle, &c. and were often obliged to walk some little distance. The day was cloudy and the breeze cool, so that we did not in the least suffer from the

heat; but it was curious to see how carefully my companion on such occasions kept his gun, loaded with ball, in his hand. This caution was particularly observable soon after a jackall had crossed our path. The jackall, Mr. Boulderson observed, is certainly not, as is said, the provider for large animals, who want no assistance in finding and killing their game. But wherever a tyger is, the jackall and the vultures usually follow him, and pick the bones which the lordly savage leaves behind. They do not, however, venture to do this till he has fairly left the place; and if hunters or travellers find the carcase of a bullock or deer with the vultures and jackalls feeding, they know that the tyrant has withdrawn: while if the smaller animals are looking round and round, as if desiring, yet afraid to draw near, they prepare themselves immediately for flight, or to encounter a formidable enemy. We, however, saw nothing of the kind, but had a peaceable and pleasant journey till we came to a tract where the fires had already been active, where little huts and herds of diminutive cattle were seen peeping out under the trees, and we overtook the rear-guard of our caravan, who told us we were near Bamoury.

The population which we saw were Khasya, or inhabitants of Kemaon, who yearly come down, after the unwholesome time is over, to graze their cattle and cultivate the best and driest spots of the forest with barley and wheat, which they reap and carry back with them before April is far advanced, when they return to reap the similar, but somewhat

later crops, which they had sown before they left their own country. At the same time they obtain an opportunity of disposing of their honey and other commodities of the hills, and buying different little luxuries with which the plains only, and the more civilized parts of Hindostan can supply them. Many of them were close by the way-side, very dark and meagre people, but strongly and neatly made, and not so diminutive as the inhabitants of such mountains generally are. They were all wrapped up in the long black blankets of their marshland neighbours, but very few of them had arms. Mr. Boulderson said they merely carried them against tygers, for there was scarcely a more peaceable or honest race in the world.

We now passed a rapid and gravelly brook of beautiful water, overhung by shady trees, with Khasya tents all round it, by which the main body of our caravan had halted to repose and drink. We pushed on, however, and soon began to rise by a gentle ascent, into the gorge of a delightful valley, with woody mountains on either side, and a considerable river running through it, dashing over a rocky bottom with great noise and violence.

A little above this beautiful stream some miserable pukka sheds pointed out the Company's warehouses and police establishment; and a sentry in a green uniform, who presented arms as we came up, and a Daroga who could hardly speak Hindoostanee, shewed us that we were already in a new land, and within the limits of the Himalaya. There is a very small and uncomfortable room adjoining

the warehouse, which is usually occupied by travellers. Here we took shelter, till our tents were pitched, and the view was so beautiful as they rose, one after the other, in the green but stony meadow beneath, that I was some time in recollecting that I had many things to do; and that no time was to be lost in preparing for a journey under very different circumstances from those in which I had yet travelled. I found two chuprassees with letters from Mr. Traill and Mr. Adam at Almorah; the former saying that he had sent down his own poney for my use, together with twenty-one coolies, from Almorah, being convinced that I should want nearly that number for the conveyance of my own baggage and that of my people. He added that two new hill-tents, which he had ordered for himself, were now on their road upwards, and that he had halted them at Bamoury in the idea that they might be serviceable to me.

Mr. Adam spoke of his own bad health which had obliged him to remove from Almorah to Havelbagh; and said that though he could not be present to receive me, I should find his house at the former place ready. While I was reading these letters, the Daroga returned with a pretty little boy, his son; they brought two plates of beautiful pomegranates and lemons, with a pot of honey and another of milk, as a present. For the three first of these the lower range of mountains is celebrated. The fourth is, as we afterwards found, a scarce article in this country, and therefore proportionably valued. I received them with thanks, as indeed

they were all very acceptable, and took an opportunity, shortly after, of giving the little boy a rupee, as a civiler method of making a return, than giving it immediately to the father. To my surprise, the child blushed exceedingly, and said he was ashamed to take it, and that the things were not worth so much. This was very unlike a young Bengalee; however, on my telling him it was not as payment, but out of good-will, and for him to buy "metai," sweatmeats, with, his countenance brightened up, he pressed it to his forehead and packed it up carefully in the folds of his girdle. He spoke Hindoostanee hesitatingly, and like a foreign language, but I understood him very well. On going down to the tents I got packed up the things which I was most likely to want for my journey, in the bullock-trunks and the square petarrahs, to be carried by three mules; another mule was required for the kitchen-furniture, and three more were necessary, that the servants whom I took with me might ride in turns. Our seven mules, the remaining five not being heard of, were thus accounted for. My bed was found not too heavy for six of the hill-coolies, (bearers from the plain being ascertained to be nearly useless.) One man carried my writing-desk; another two chairs and the physic-chest; two had each a basket of provisions and crockery; two carried a leaf of the folding-table; six the baggage of the Sepoys; and the remainder were employed as muleteers, &c. Sepoys were not absolutely necessary, but as I had them, I thought I might as well take some, and

I directed the Soubahdar to enquire what men would volunteer for this service, on which ten privates, a havildar and a naick, two officers answering to our serjeant and corporal, very readily came forward. The rest of the party I had intended to leave at Bamoury till my return. It appeared, however, that there was no forage for the elephants or camels, the trees which grew in the neighbourhood being all of a kind which they will not eat. This, with the circumstances which I have already mentioned, and the desire to see something more of Kemaon, determined me to send them to Chilkeah, and I gave directions accordingly. Here, however, a new difficulty arose. The mules which had been described to me as furnished with every requisite for a journey, had neither bridles nor saddles of a proper kind for travelling in a string, or bearing considerable weights. Nor had any body, except Abdullah, ever seen the sort of pannel which was necessary. He lost no time, but sate down with a large packing-needle and twine, and, in less than an hour, made out of some of the camel furniture a serviceable saddle and bridle, such as are used in Persia. The camel-drivers set to work in imitation, and by night all the seven mules were equipped and ready to be loaded next morning. While these things were going on, the Daroga's little boy, who had been watching us attentively, came up, and, with joined hands, asked me to take him with me as my servant. I told him I was going a long, long journey, over mountains, and through jungles, and beyond the

sea, and that he would be sadly tired ; on which he blushed and said “ he was sure he should not ;” I was pleased with his intelligent countenance and manner, and wished that I could have taken him with me and brought him up a Christian. But these people are Rajpoots of very high caste, so that his father would, certainly, have stipulated that his caste should be respected : and above all, I had really no means, without great inconvenience, of carrying a child of that age in such a journey as I was engaged in. I therefore told him, in as good-natured a way as I could, that he had better stay with his father ; and the little fellow went away very gravely, and apparently disappointed. Mr. Boulderson, mean time, had taken his fishing-rod down to the river, and now returned with some, not large, but very beautiful trout, in all respects like those of our own country. These formed an agreeable accession to our dinner ; and the cool mountain breeze, the rustling of the forest, and the incessant roar of the rapid stream, made me feel as if I were in Europe again ; and I again longed exceedingly for her, who of all others of my acquaintance, would most have enjoyed our present situation. Mr. Boulderson made me here a present of two sheep, one of which I gave to the Sepoys for a feast after their long march. The other was required for the mountains, where, except game, meat of any kind is seldom to be obtained. With soldiers of all countries these little attentions go a great way, but with Sepoys I think more than with any others. General Vanrenen

told me that by harshness they were immediately discouraged, but that by speaking to them kindly, and shewing a regard to their comforts, there was no exertion which they might not be induced to make with cheerfulness. I, certainly, have not given them extraordinary trouble in general, but a twenty-one mile march in this climate is enough to try a soldier's temper; and the cheerfulness with which they all answered my enquiries as I overtook them on the road, the readiness with which they turned out to go up the hills with me, and other little circumstances, have made me hope that I am by no means an unpopular person with them.

*November 23.*—This morning I mounted Mr. Traill's poney, a stout shaggy little white animal, whose birth-place might have been in Wales, instead of the Himalaya. Mr. Boulderson was on a similar one, which he had brought from the hills some years before. He was equipped for the journey with a long spear, had his gun, a double-barrelled one, loaded with ball and shot, carried close to him, and two men with matchlocks who seemed his usual attendants. By his advice I had my pistols, and he also lent me a double-barrelled gun, saying, we might see tygers. After a good deal of trouble in getting the mules and coolies started, we proceeded on our journey as it began to dawn, a night march being not very safe amid these mountains, and the beauty of the scenery being of itself a sufficient motive to see all which was to be seen. The road was, certainly, sufficiently steep and rugged, and particularly when intersected by torrents,



I do not think it was passable by horses accustomed only to the plain. I was myself surprised to see how dexterously our ponies picked their way over large rolling pebbles and broken fragments of rock, how firmly they planted their feet, and with how little distress they conquered some of the steepest ascents I ever climbed. The country as we advanced became exceedingly beautiful and romantic. It reminded me most of Norway, but had the advantage of round-topped trees, instead of the unwearied spear-like outline of the pine. It would have been like some parts of Wales, had not the hills and precipices been much higher, and the valleys, or rather dells, narrower and more savage. We could seldom, from the range on which the road ran, see to the bottom of any of them, and only heard the roar and rush of the river which we had left, and which the torrents which foamed across our path were hastening to join.

We saw several interesting plants and animals; Mr. Boulderson shot two black and purple pheasants, and a jungle hen; we saw some beautiful little white monkeys, called by the people "Gounee," gambolling on the trees; and heard, which, perhaps, pleased me most of all, the notes of an English thrush. The bird, however, though Mr. Boulderson said it is of the thrush kind, is black. For a short distance the vegetation did not differ materially from that of the plains. The first peculiarities I saw were some nettles of very great size, and some magnificent creepers which hung their wild cordage, as thick as a ship's cable and co-

vered with broad bright leaves, from tree to tree over our heads. After about an hour and a half's ascent, Mr. Boulderson pointed out to me some dog-rose trees, and a number of raspberry bushes, with here and there a small but not very thriving ever-green oak. We soon after saw a good many cherry-trees, of the common wild English sort, in full blossom, and as we turned down a steep descent to Beemthâl, we passed under some pear-trees with the fruit already set, and a wild thicket; I will not call it jungle, of raspberry and bilberry bushes on either side of our path. We had sufficient proof during our ride, that the country, wild as it is, is not uninhabited. We met two or three companies of Khasya peasantry going down to their annual cultivation in the forest. The men were all middle-sized, slender, and active, of not dark complexions, but very poorly and scantily dressed. All were unarmed excepting with large sticks. The women might have been good-looking if they had been less sun-burnt and toil-worn, or if their noses and ears had not been so much enlarged by the weight of the metal rings with which they were ornamented. Their dress was a coarse cloth wrapped round their waist, with a black blanket over the head and shoulders. All had silver bracelets and anklets, apparently of silver also, a circumstance, which to an European eye, contrasted singularly with the exceeding poverty of their general appearance.

Their industry seems very great. In every part where the declivity was less steep, so as to admit a

plough or a spade, we found little plots of ground, sometimes only four feet wide, and ten or twelve long, in careful and neat cultivation. Some of these were ranged in little terraces, one above the other, supported by walls of loose stones; and these evidences of industry and population were the more striking, because we literally did not pass a single habitation; and even at Beemthâl, besides the Company's guard-room and warehouses, only one miserable hut was visible. Beemthâl is, however, a very beautiful place. It is a little mountain-valley, surrounded on three sides by woody hills, and on the fourth by a tract of green meadow, with a fine lake of clear water. A small and very rude pagoda of grey stone, with a coarse slate roof, under some fine popul-trees, looked like a little church; and the whole scene, except that the hills were higher, so strongly reminded me of Wales, that I felt my heart beat as I entered it. As we alighted, a man came up with another basket of fine trout, and after a good deal of brushing and patching, we succeeded (no very easy task,) in making the ruinous apartment appropriated for travellers look reasonably decent and comfortable. It was in the first instance more like "lonesome lodge," in the old ballad of "The Heir of Lynne," than any thing which I have seen. It was a single small room, with a clay floor, two windows without glass, the shutters broken to pieces, and a roof of unhewn rafters of fir, with the bark laid between them. There was a fire-place, however, and some remains of a grate, a prospect the more agreeable,

inasmuch as even now, though nearly the hottest part of the day, we found the sun by no means unpleasant, and walked up and down in our cloth coats and worsted stockings, as if we had been in England. Beemthâl is, indeed, 3200 feet above the level of the sea, and 2700 above the plain of Rohilcund. Yet even now, Mount Gaughur, which closed our present prospect, was 5400 feet higher than we were; and, if we had been on Mount Gaughur, we should have seen peaks of 16,000 feet above us still!

We passed a very cheerful and pleasing evening, round our blazing hearth; and, by help of blankets and great-coats, found our beds extremely comfortable.

*November 24.*—Mr. Boulderson left me this morning, and I believe we parted with mutual regret; his pursuits and amusements were certainly very different from mine, but I found in him a fine temper and an active mind, full of information respecting the country, animals, and people among whom he had passed several years; and on the whole I do not think I have acquired so much of this kind of knowledge in so short a time from any person whom I have met with in India. I myself remained at Beemthâl this day, partly to rest my people after their two severe marches, partly to see another lake or “Thâl” at a short distance, which was said to be finer than that before me.

I set off as soon as Mr. Boulderson had left me, about six o'clock in the morning, on the white poney, with a Khasya guide, Mr. Traill's saees,

and two Sepoys, who had for some time shewn on all occasions a great zeal to accompany me. One of these is the man who got leave to see his brother. The other is a Bralmin, a very decent, middle-aged man, one of the number who was sick in Oude. He is fond of telling me stories of his campaigns, which he says have many of them been among mountains in Malwah and Bundelcund. He owns, however, that the mountains here are larger than any which he has yet visited; even respecting these I found him not ill-informed, both as to the holy places situated among them, Bhadrinâth, Gungootree, &c. the situation of the source of the Ganges, which he correctly stated, in answer to a question which I put to try him, to be on this side of the snowy mountains, and the scenes where battles were fought during the Gorkhali war. The other soldier had not much to say, but was exceedingly civil and willing to oblige, and had a pair of the longest and most nimble legs, and the strongest arms I have seen. The latter were of some use to me this morning, our stupid guide having led me along a path so narrow, that Mr. Traill's poney had neither room to turn nor to advance with me on his back, nor could I conveniently dismount, having one knee pressed against a steep bank, and the opposite foot hanging over the rocky edge of a brook some ten feet high. I had nothing for it but to climb the bank, and in so doing, I found a most valueable support in this man's arm, while nothing could exceed his zeal in the cause. The poney still could not advance till his

holsters were taken off, and to avoid such risks in future, I told the long-legged Sepoy to go on next to the guide, and give warning if we were coming to a place which the horse could not pass. The path lay along a very elevated valley, nearly bare of trees but cultivated with a most persevering industry, almost to the mountain's top. The bleak appearance of the place, its general features, its strong soil and the extent of agriculture, a good deal reminded me of that part of Llanarmon which is near the "Tavern Dwrck." I passed no village, nor more than one house. This last, however, was very interesting, being a water-mill, with an overshot wheel, which is supplied by the brook, where I so narrowly missed a tumble. The mill, though exceedingly rude, was of the same sort as in other countries, but was the tiniest specimen which I ever saw. The stones were not larger than would serve a reasonable handmill; the building so small that nobody could enter but on their hands and knees; and the sacks of corn and flour disposed about the door, were all on the same Lilliputian scale. The lake which I went to see, the name of which is Nongunjee, disappointed me. It is a very pretty, secluded mountain tarn, with some rock and wood around it, and its surface covered with fine water-lilies, but neither so large nor so beautiful as Beemthál. I was glad, however, that I had come, and returning a different way, had a very fine view of the other side of this secluded valley, which is more rugged and woody than that on which I had been hitherto looking.

The Khasya nation pretend to be all Rajpoots of the highest caste, and very scrupulous in their eating and drinking. They will not even sell one of their little mountain-cows to a stranger, unless he will swear that he neither will kill it himself, nor transfer it to any body else in order to be killed : and as these cows give very little milk, and as their abhorrence of feathers leads the cottagers to keep no poultry, a stranger passing through their country, who cannot kill his own game, or who has not such a friend as Mr. Boulderson to do it for him, stands a bad chance of obtaining any supplies, except very coarse black bread and water, with perhaps a little honey. They are a modest, gentle, respectful people, honest in their dealings, and as remarkable for their love of truth as the Puharrees of Rajmahal and Boglipoor. As their language is different from that of Hindostan, I was anxious to know whether it resembled that of these other mountaineers, but found that a party who, on one occasion, accompanied Mr. Traill to Bengal were unintelligible to the southern Puharree. Indeed their real or pretended Rajpoot descent would, of itself, prove them to be a different race. Those who went with Mr. Traill, I learned from Mr. Boulderson, who was also of the party, took no notice whatever of the Rajmahal hills, even when passing over them. Mr. Boulderson said, "are you not pleased to see mountains again?" "What mountains?" was their reply. "These mountains, to be sure," returned he. "They are not mountains, they are play-things," was their answer. In

comparison with their own they might, indeed, say so without affectation.

*November 25.*—This morning we began to pack by four o'clock, but owing to the restiveness of the mules and the clumsiness of the people, divers accidents occurred, the most serious of which was the bursting of one of the petarrahs. At length we got off, and after coasting the lake for one mile, went for about thirteen more by a most steep and rugged road, over the neck of mount Gaughur, through a succession of glens, forests, and views of the most sublime and beautiful description. I never saw such prospects before, and had formed no adequate idea of such. My attention was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears, every thing around was so wild and magnificent that man appeared as nothing, and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of God's great temple. The trees, as we advanced, were in a large proportion fir and cedar, but many were ilex, and to my surprise I still saw, even in these Alpine tracts, many venerable pcepul-trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols. A monkey is also found in these hills as large as a large dog, if my guides are to be believed. Tygers used to be very common and mischievous, but since the English have frequented the country are scarce, and in comparison very shy. There are also many wolves and bears, and some chamois, two of which passed near us. My Sepoys wanted me to shoot one, and offered, with my leave, to do so themselves, if I did not like the walk which would be



necessary. But my people would not have eaten them. I myself was well supplied with provisions, and I did not wish to destroy an innocent animal merely for the sake of looking at it a little closer ; I therefore told them it was not my custom to kill any thing which was not mischievous, and asked if they would stand by me if we saw a tyger or a bear. They promised eagerly not to fail me, and I do not think they would have broken their words.

After winding up

“ A wild romantic chasm that slanted  
Down the steep hill, athwart a cedar cover,  
A savage place, as holy and enchanted  
As e'er beneath the waning moon was haunted  
By woman wailing for her demon lover,”

we arrived at the gorge of the pass, in an indent between the two principal summits of mount Gaughur, near 8,600 feet above the sea. And now the snowy mountains, which had been so long eclipsed, opened on us in full magnificence. To describe a view of this kind is only lost labour, and I found it nearly impossible to take a sketch of it ; such as I was able to make I, however, send with this packet.

Nundidevi was immediately opposite ; Kedar Nâth was not visible from our present situation, and Meru only seen as a very distant single peak. The eastern mountains, however, for which I have obtained no name, rose into great consequence, and were very glorious objects as we wound down the hill on the other side. The guides could only tell me that “ they were a great way off, and bordered

on the Chinese empire." They are, I suppose, in Thibet.

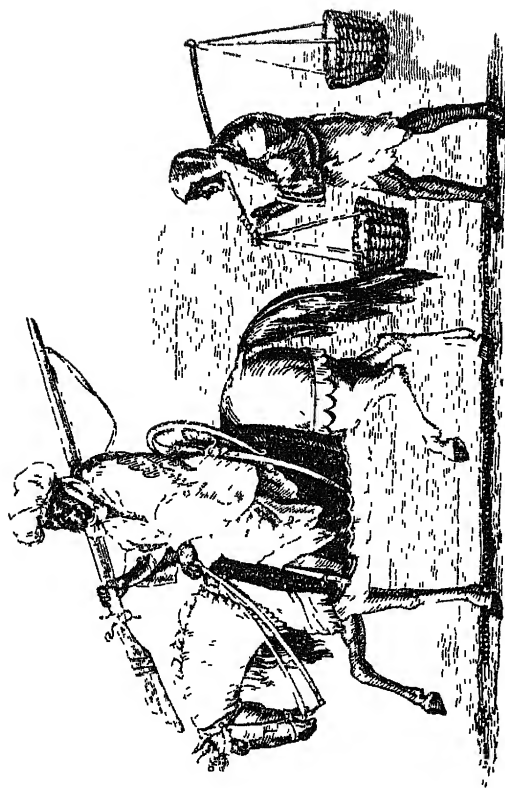
Bhadrinâth is a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindoos. The Khasya guide, however, said that the temple was considerably on this side the snow, which last none but the deotas had visited before the " Sahib Log," (Europeans,) came into the country. Mr. Traill has ascended a considerable way up it. Almorah, I was told, might be seen from hence; the hill on which it stands, they made me see, I believe, but I could not distinguish any houses. On mount Gaughur I found the first ice which I have come in contact with. The little streams on the northern side of the hill had all a thin crust on them: and the hoar frost, in one or two places, made the path so slippery, that I thought it best to dismount from the poney. Indeed, though the sun was already high, and I was warmly dressed, a walk down the hill to our halting place at Ramghur, was by no means unpleasant.

Ramghur is a very small and poor village, the first which I had seen in Kemaon, seated by a fine rapid stream in a narrow winding valley, the sides of which, to a very great height, are cultivated in narrow terraces, with persevering and obstinate industry, though the soil is so stoney that many of the little fields more resemble the deposit of a torrent than an arable piece of ground. The Company's warehouse and guard-house stand at a little height above the village; and the head man of the place came to meet me with some small trout, and what to me were a great rarity, some young pota-

toes. The view much reminded me of Driostuen, in Norway; and though the snowy mountains were not visible, and though, except on mount Gaughur, there was not much wood, the picture formed was exceedingly striking.

There was a castle at Ramghur during the time of the Ghorka power, now dismantled and gone to decay. A good deal of iron ore is also found in the neighbourhood, which the inhabitants of the small village were employed in washing from its grosser impurities, and fitting it to be transported to Almorah for smelting. Why they do not smelt it on the spot I could not learn, since there is wood enough on mount Gaughur.

I walked to the village in the afternoon, and found Mr. Traill's chuprassee putting all the milch-goats which the poor people possessed, in requisition, to obtain some milk for my tea. The goats were very reluctant, but a little was at length obtained, which, much against the chuprassee's will, I paid for, and also gave a few pice to some of the children, which soon drew a crowd after me. The houses, people, children, and animals shewed marks of poverty. Almost all the children were naked, and the grown persons, except their black blankets, had scarcely a rag to cover them. The houses were ranged in a line with a row of still smaller huts opposite, which seemed to be for their cattle, though in England they might have passed for very poor pig-sties. The houses, indeed, were little better, none of them high enough to stand up in, the largest not more than ten feet square, and the door,



A RAMGHUR SIKH, ATTENDED BY HIS SALES.



the only aperture, a square hole of about four feet every way. The people were little and slender, but apparently muscular and active; their countenances intelligent and remarkably mild, and one or two of their women were not very far removed from pretty. This tribe of the Khasya nation, the chuprassee told me, are decidedly of migratory habits, dividing their time between the hills and the forest, according to the seasons, and it was thus that he accounted for the miserable state of their habitations. They very cheerfully and civilly shewed me the manner in which they wash the ore, which is done by enclosing it in large wicker baskets, like those made to catch eels in England, surrounded partially by a goat-skin, but with a hole at the smaller extremity. This is placed under a stream of water conveyed in the same manner, and within an almost similar hut as the corn-mill, which I had seen the day before, and the earth is thus washed away, leaving the iron behind.

Even here are numerous traces of the superstition of India. We passed some rudely-carved stones, with symbols of Brahminical idolatry; and three miserable-looking beggars, two Brahmins, and a viragee, came to ask alms, in a strange mixture between Khasya and Hindoostanee. A traveller, wrapped in long cotton cloths, with a long match-lock on his shoulder, a shield and sword on his left side, on a pretty good horse, and attended by a ragged saees carrying two petarrahs, passed us and went on to the village. Abdullah said that he knew him by his dress to be a Sikh, and that he

had probably been in search of employment a soldier, either from the Raja of Kemaon, the Gorkhas, or, perhaps, the Chinese. He was a very picturesque figure, and curious as a specimen of the irregular mercenary troops of India.

My own Sepoys had a grievous quarrel with the "Goomashta," or agent of the Company's warehouse, and I was appealed to loudly by both parties; the soldiers calling on me as "Ghurceb purwar,"—the Goomashta, not to be outdone, exclaiming, "Donai Lord Sahib! Donai! Raja." I found that good flour, which sold at Ruderpoor at 38 seer for the rupee, was here at 15 seer only, and that the mixture which the man offered to the soldiers was really so full of bran, and even chaff, as to be fit for nothing but an elephant. The man said, in reply, that he went by the Company's measure, and the regulation price; that all flour, except such as we saw, was scarce and dear in this part of Kemaon; that he was allowed, in consequence of his situation, to charge more; and that the people and soldiery of the country desired no better than that which he furnished. I terminated the quarrel at last by paying the difference in price, amounting to no more than one rupee, between the good and the bad, and all sides were satisfied and thankful.

*November 26.*—This morning we proceeded along a narrow valley to a broken bridge over the torrent, so like, in scenery and circumstances, to that called Alarm Brug, in Dovre in Norway, that I could have almost fancied myself there.

We forded the stream without difficulty, though over a very rugged bed ; but, during the rains, one of the chuprassees told me, a rope which I saw hanging loosely across the ruined arch, was to transport the postman or any other passenger. He was seated in a basket hung by a loop on this rope, and drawn over, backwards and forwards, by two smaller ones fastened to the basket on each side. This is an ingenious though simple method of conveyance, which is practised also by the catchers of sea-fowl on many parts of the coast of Norway ; it was the only way formerly in use of passing torrents or chasms in these countries ; and the stone bridges which the English have erected are very ill able to resist the floods of the rainy season, which rush down these deep descents with great violence and rapidity. Bridges on Mr. Shakespear's plan are best calculated for this country.

The snowy peaks had been concealed ever since we descended Gaughur, but the country is still very sublime ; less woody, less luxuriant than the southern side of that mountain, but still moulded in the most majestic forms, and such as I hardly knew whether to prefer or no, to the splendid scenery which I had passed. The road is yet more rugged and steep than that over the Gaughur, and the precipices higher ; or rather, perhaps, their height is more seen because the trees are fewer and more stunted, and there is nothing to break the view from the brow to the very bottom, with its roaring stream, and narrow shingly meadows. I know not what is the reason or instinct which induces all



animals accustomed to mountain travelling, such as mules, sheep, black cattle, and such poneyes as I was now riding, to go by preference as near the edge as possible. I have often observed, and been puzzled to account for it. The road is, indeed, smoother and most beaten there, but it has been this predilection of theirs, which has, in the first instance, made it so. My present poney had this preference very decidedly, and I often found him picking his way along, what I should have thought, the extreme verge of safety. I was satisfied, however, that he knew best, and therefore let him take his own course, though my constant attendants, the two Sepoys, often called out to him, "Ah Pearl, (his name) go in the middle, do not go on the brink." The fact is, that though there is some fatigue, there is no danger in any part of the road, if a person is properly mounted and not nervous.

The long-legged Sepoy, who is I find a Brahmin as well as his comrade, is certainly an excellent walker; when I stopped, as I made a point of doing from time to time, for my party and my horse to take breath, he always said he was not tired; and he fairly beat the Kemaon chuprassees, though natives of the country. Both he and the elder man profess to like their journey exceedingly, and the latter was greatly delighted this morning, when on climbing a second mountain we had a more extensive and panoramic view of the icy range than we had seen before, and the guides pointed out Meru! "That, my Lord, (he cried out) is the greatest of all mountains! out of that Gunga flows!" The

younger, who is not a man of many words, merely muttered Ram ! Ram ! Ram !

I had expected, from this hill, to see something like a table-land or elevated plain, but found instead, nothing but one range of mountains after the other, quite as rugged, and, generally speaking, more bare than those which we had left, till the horizon was terminated by a vast range of ice and snow, extending its battalion of white shining spears from east to west, as far as the eye could follow it ; the principal points rising like towers in the glittering rampart, but all connected by a chain of humbler glaciers. On one of the middle range of mountains before us, a little lower than the rest, some white buildings appeared, and a few trees, with a long zigzag road winding up the face of the hill.

This, I was told, was the city and fortress of Almorah. The other nearer features in the view were some extensive pine forests, some scattered villages of rather better appearance than those which we had left, and the same marks of industry in the successive terraces by which all the lower parts of the hills are intersected. These have by no means a bad effect in the landscape. The lines are too short and too irregular to have a formal appearance ; the bushes and small trees which grow on their brinks look at a little distance exactly like hedges ; and the low stone walls, so far as they are discernible at all, seem natural accompaniments to steeps so rugged and craggy.

The mountains which I passed in these stages were all, so far as I saw, of limestone. There are,

indeed, vast detached masses of granite lying every where on the side of the hills, in the valleys and the torrents ; and the peaks of the mountains, if I had climbed up to them, would doubtless have proved of the same substance. But limestone and coarse slate are the materials of which the road and walls are made ; and the few cottages which I have seen of a better appearance than the rest, (I passed two more villages in this day's march,) are built and roofed with the same materials, as are also the Government warehouses. I saw many European plants to-day. Cherry-trees were numerous. I observed a good deal of honeysuckle and some hips and haws, and one of the guides brought me a large handful of bilberries. I saw, however, no ice ; and indeed I had many opportunities of observing, that high as we had climbed in the course of the day, we were not so high as when on the top of Gaughur. Nothing could be finer than the climate. Though the sun was hot before we got to our station, the distance being seven coss, it was not unpleasant at any time of the day ; nor, though in the shade it was certainly cold and chilly, was it more so than is usually felt in England in the finest part of October.

My Sepoys, who, as all water-drinkers are, are critics in the beverage, praised exceedingly the purity and lightness of the little streams which gushed across the road. Mr. Boulderson, indeed, had told me that the Khasyas pride themselves much on their springs, and have been known to refuse advantageous situations in the plain, saying, "how

can we get good water there?" This, however, does not seem to militate against their annual emigration. All the villages which we passed were empty, the people having gone to Bamoury for the winter. One or two cottages, however, were still inhabited round the Company's post, the master of one of which, who, though dressed like a common Khasya peasant, said he was the Zemindar of the district, brought me some beautiful lemons and some young potatoes, both the produce of his garden. Potatoes are much liked by the mountaineers, and are becoming very common. They are, perhaps, among the most valueable presents which they are likely to receive from their new masters.

My attention here, as elsewhere, is never quite withdrawn from Missionary enquiries, but in these annual emigrations I see a great hindrance to their reception of the Gospel or the education of their children. At Almorah, however, and in the other towns, the case is, in some respects, different.

The Company's post is a small bungalow, with a still smaller guard-room, which latter could only accommodate the Naitch and his party whom we found in possession, while the stoney soil all around would not admit of our pitching the tents. The soldiers and servants, were, therefore, obliged to sleep in the open air.

During the afternoon, and soon after I had finished my early dinner, a very fine cheerful old man with staff and wallet, walked up and took his place by one of the fires. He announced himself as a pilgrim to Bhadrinâth, and said he had pre-

viously visited a holy place in Lahore, whose name I could not make out, and was last returned from Juggernaâth and Calcutta, whence he had intended to visit the Bunman territories, but was prevented by the war. He was a native of Oude, but hoped, he said, before he fixed himself again at home, to see Bombay and Poonah. I asked him what made him undertake such long journeys? He said he had had a good and affectionate son, a havildar in the Company's service, who always sent him money, and had once or twice come to see him. Two years back he died, and left him sixteen gold mohurs, but since that time, he said, he could settle to nothing, and at length he had determined to go to all the most holy spots he had heard of, and travel over the world till his melancholy legacy was exhausted. I told him I would pay the goomashta for his dinner that day, on which he thanked me, and said "so many great men had shewn him the same kindness, that he was not yet in want, and had never been obliged to ask for any thing." He was very curious to know who I was, with so many guards and servants in such a place; and the name of "Lord Padre" was, as usual, a great puzzle to him. He gave a very copious account of his travels, the greater part of which I understood pretty well, and he was much pleased by the interest which I took in his adventures. He remarked that Hindostan was the finest country and the most plentiful which he had seen. Next to that he spoke well of Sindh, where he said things were still cheaper, but the water not so good. Lahore, Ben-

gal, and Orissa, none of them were favourites, nor did he speak well of Kemaoon. It might for all he knew, he said, be healthy, but what was that to him, who was never ill any where, so he could get bread and water? There was something flighty in his manner, but on the whole he was a fine old pilgrim, and one well suited to

“ Repay with many a tale the nightly bed.”

A nightly bed, indeed, I had not to offer him, but he had as comfortable a berth by the fire as the Sepoys could make him, and I heard his loud cheerful voice telling stories after his mess of rice and ghee, till I myself dropped asleep.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ALMORAH TO MEERUT.

*Trees used as Gallows—Bhooteahs—Kemaon subject to Earthquakes—Havelbagh—Vegetation in Kemaon—Animals and Birds—Wild Dogs—Visits from Vakeel and Pundit—Cold at Prunty—Poverty of Ghurwali—Koosilla River—Description of Okul Doonga—Pillibheet Race—Emetic Property of Wild Tea—Ghorkha Boy—Manner of catching Fish—Cashipoor—Women Spinning—White Buffalo—Sugar Mill—Imperial Tree—Moradabad—Making Ice—Yogis and Tygers—Canes set on fire by Friction—Party of supposed Bheels—Thugs.*

NOVEMBER 27.—As we had to climb the eastern side of so steep a hill as that on which Almorah stands, I conceived that the sun might possibly be troublesome, and started a little earlier than I had done the two preceding days; we descended into a valley with a very rapid river, the Koosilla, running through it, over a rugged and stoney bottom. The abutments of a bridge which had, as usual, lost its arch, and had only its slack rope, pointed out the place where we were to cross by rather a difficult ford. One of my followers, a poor Pariah dog, who had come with us all the way from Bareilly for the sake of the scraps which I had ordered the cook to give him, and, by the sort of instinct which most dogs possess, always attached himself to me as the head of the party, was so alarmed at the blackness and roaring of the water,

that he sate down on the brink and howled pitifully when he saw me going over. When he found it was a hopeless case, however, he mustered courage and followed. But on reaching the other side, a new distress awaited him. One of my faithful Sepoys had lagged behind as well as himself, and when he found the usual number of my party not complete, he ran back to the brow of the hill and howled, then hurried after me as if afraid of being himself left behind, then back again to summon the loiterer, till the man came up, and he apprehended that all was going on in its usual routine. It struck me forcibly to find the same dog-like and amiable qualities in these neglected animals, as in their more fortunate brethren of Europe. The dog had, before this, been rather a favourite with my party, and this will, I think, establish him in their good graces.

We had two more toilsome ascents, and another deep and black ford to pass before we reached the foot of the hill of Almorah. The town is approached by a very long and steep zig-zag road, which a few resolute men might defend against an army. On seeing the impenetrable nature of this whole country, one cannot help wondering how it ever should have been conquered. Its first subjection, however, by the Ghorkhas was in consequence of a disputed succession, and forwarded by the dissensions of the people themselves. Its recent conquest by the British was aided by the good-will of all the natives, whom the cruelty of their masters had disposed to take part with any invader. The Khasyas



in every village lent their help, not only as guides, but in dragging our guns up the hills, and giving every other assistance which they could supply.

I was met by Mr. Traill about half a mile from the town, mounted on a little poney like that which he had sent me. We rode together under a spreading toon-tree, so like an ash that I at first mistook it for one. There are four of these trees in the four approaches to the town, one or other of which is the usual gallows, when, which happens rarely, a capital execution takes place. Under the Ghorkhas all four were kept in almost constant employment. I have, indeed, had reason to find, from the conversation of my guides with Abdullah, that this province is one of the parts of our Eastern Empire, where the British Government is most popular, and where we are still really regarded as the deliverers of the people from an intolerable tyranny. I mentioned this to Mr. Traill during our ride. He said that the Ghorkha government had, certainly, been very tyrannical, less from the commands or inclination of the Court of Catmandu, than from its want of power to keep in order the military chiefs, by whom the conquest of the province had been effected, and who not only had divided the lands among themselves, without regard to the rights of the ancient proprietors, but, on any arrears of rent, sold the wives and children of the peasants into slavery, to an amount which was almost incredible, punishing at the same time, with barbarous severity, every appearance of mutiny or discontent which these horrible proceedings ex-

cited. He said that, at the present moment, hardly any young persons were to be found through the country, who, during the Ghorkha government, had been of a marketable age. Children there were in plenty, but only such as had been born shortly before, or since the transfer of the dominion to the British. The Court of Catmandu sent repeated edicts against the practice, which was in a fair way to extirpate their new subjects. But all which they did, or thought it necessary to do, was of no avail, and the country was at the very lowest ebb of misery, when, happily for its surviving inhabitants, the Ghorkhas took it into their heads to quarrel with the English.

Nundidevi, the highest peak in the world, is stated to be no less than 25,689 feet above the sea, and 4000 feet and upwards higher than Chimborazo. Bhadrinâth and Kedarnâth are merely two ends of the same mountain, its height is 22,300 feet. The peak which the chuprassees called Meru is properly Sumeru, as distinguished by the modern Pundits at least, from the celestial and fabulous one. It is really, however, pretty near the sources of the Ganges, and about 23,000 feet high, though the three great peaks of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, whence the Ganges really flows, are from this point obscured by the intervening ridge of Kedarnâth. Kedarnâth, Gungothec, Sumeru, and Nundidevi, are all within the British territory, and Mr. Traill has been to the northward of them, though the peaks themselves have never been scaled. Nundidevi is, as the crow flies, forty

miles from Almorah, but following the winding of the only accessible road, it is eight or nine days' march. Between it and the Chinese frontier, two remarkable races of men are found, the first the Bhooteahs, a Mongolian tribe, worshippers of the Delai Lama, who are said to be the descendants of one of the hordes who crossed the snowy mountains with Tamerlane; the other, a savage race, who neither plough nor dig, but live by the chase and on wild fruits only. They call themselves the original inhabitants of the soil, and appear to be the same people with the Puharrees of Rajmahál. I saw some Bhooteahs during my stay at Almorah, who had come down with a cargo of "chow-ries," tails of the "yák," or mountain-ox. They are a short square-built people, with the true Calmuk countenance and eye, and with the same remarkable cheerfulness of character and expression, by which the Calmuk tribes are in general distinguished. Their dress was also completely Tartar, large boots with their trowsers stuffed into them, caftans girded round the waist, and little bonnets edged with black sheep's skin.

Beyond them is the Chinese frontier, strictly guarded by the jealous care of that government. Mr. Moorcroft did, indeed, pass it some years ago, and was kindly received by one of the provincial Governors, but the poor man was thrown into prison, and died there, as a punishment for his hospitality, and since, nobody has been allowed to go beyond the frontier village. When Mr. Traill visited it they shewed him great respect and atten-

tion; brought him fire-wood, milk, eggs, earthen vessels, and would receive no payment, but on his mounting his horse to push on a little further, he was immediately surrounded and brought back, though in the civilest manner, by the Tartar horsemen, who pleaded the positive orders of the emperor. To the north, however, the small independent Tartar kingdom of Ladak has shewn itself exceedingly hospitable and friendly. Mr. Moorcroft, when he was there, was treated with unbounded kindness and confidence, and their Khân has since sent a formal offer, which I am sorry was declined, of his allegiance to the British government.

To return from this digression. I found Almorah a small but very curious and interesting town. It chiefly consists of one long street, running along the ridge of the mountain from the fort westward to a smaller block-house eastward, with scattered bungalows, chiefly inhabited by Europeans, to the right and left-hand on the descent of the hill. The main street has a gate at each end, and, on a small scale, put me in mind of Chester. The houses all stand on a lower story of stone, open to the street, with strong square pillars, where the shops are, looking like some of the rows. Above the buildings are of timber, exactly like those of Chester, in one or sometimes two very low stories, and surmounted by a sloping roof of heavy grey slate, on which many of the inhabitants pile up their hay in small stacks for winter consumption. The town is very neat, the street has a

natural pavement of slaty rock which is kept beautifully clean : the stone part of the houses is well white-washed, and adorned with queer little paintings ; and the tradesmen are not only a fairer but a much more respectable looking race than I had expected to see, from the filth and poverty of the agricultural Khasyas.

We passed two or three little old pagodas and tanks, as well as a Mussulman burial-ground. The Mussulmans were treated with great rigour here during the Ghorkha government. They are now fully tolerated and protected, but their numbers are very small. Government, on the conquest of Almorah, very liberally built a number of small bungalows in airy situations round it, for the accommodation, gratis, of any of their civil or military servants, who might come to reside here for their health. They are small low cottages of stone, with slated roofs, and look extremely like the sea-bathing cottages on the Welsh coast, having thick walls, small windows, low rooms, and all the other peculiarities (most different from the generality of Anglo-Indian houses) which suit a boisterous and cold climate. Yet, in summer, the heat is considerable, and the valleys ~~very far from~~ wholesome, being, some of them indeed, only a shade better than Tandah, and the rest of the Terrai. On the hill tops, however, there is always a fine breeze, and, even in May and June, the nights are chilly.

There is another reason why the bungalows of this country are built low. Kemaon is extremely subject to earthquakes; scarcely a year passes with-

out a shake or two, and though all have been slight since the English came, it would not be wise to build upper-roomed houses, unless, like the natives, they made the superstructure of timber. In the best of these bungalows I found Mr. Adams, who received me most hospitably. He introduced me to Sir Robert Colquhoun, the Commandant of the local troops of Kemaon, who invited me to accompany Mr. Adams and himself, on Monday, to his house at Havelbagh, where the native lines are, and where Mr. Adams is residing at present, as being a milder climate than that of Almorah. Mr. Adams had a party to dine in the evening, and I found that almost all the civil and military officers here were Scotch.

*Sunday, November 28.*—This day I enjoyed the gratification of being the first Protestant Minister who had preached and administered the Sacraments in so remote, yet so celebrated a region. I had a very respectable congregation of, I believe, all the Christian inhabitants of Almorah and Havelbagh. Mr. Adams allowed me to make use of the two principal rooms in his house, which, by the help of the folding-doors between them, accommodated thirty or thirty-five persons with ease. I was, after service, introduced to Lady Colquhoun, who is celebrated in the province as a bold rider along the mountain paths. I was also introduced to Captain Herbert, who has the situation of Geologist in this province, and who seems a very well-informed, as he is a very pleasing and unassuming man. He and Sir Robert Colquhoun were just

returned from a scientific expedition to the eastern frontier, and gave an interesting account of the Ghorkha troops there, whom they described, as they have been generally represented, as among the smartest and most European-like soldiery of India. We had family prayers.

I forgot to mention that, during this day, I walked up to the fort of Almorah, a very paltry thing, so ill-contrived as to be liable to an escalade from any daring enemy, and so ill-situated as to be commanded from two points of land on opposite sides, and not to have a drop of water within its walls. It is out of repair already, and certainly not worth mending.

*November 29.*—I went down this morning to breakfast and to remain, during the rest of my stay in Kemaon, at Sir Robert Colquhoun's, at Havelbagh, by a steep and winding, but firm and safe road carried down the northern side of the mountain of Almorah, into a larger valley than I had yet seen in Kemaon, where are lines for the provincial troops, and several bungalows for the civil officers. The situation is very pretty, and indeed fine. At a considerable depth below the houses, through a narrow rocky glen, the deep black Koosilla runs with much violence, crossed by one of those suspension-bridges of branches and ropes made of grass, which have been, from considerable antiquity common in these mountains, and appear to have given the original hint both to the chain-bridges of Europe, and those which Mr. Shakespeare has invented. The situation is strik-

ing, and the picturesque effect extremely good, but the bridge at present so much out of repair, (a great many of the branches which compose its road-way being broken or decayed,) that I did not care to trust myself on it, particularly as I could not stand or cling so securely as the bare-footed natives of the country, on broken and detached pieces of wood. I saw, however, one of the Khas-yas pass it, but with some apparent difficulty, and Mr. Traill talked of having it taken down to prevent accidents. During the dry season the river is fordable, and by persons on foot passed easily enough. On horseback, as I had occasion to find some days after, it is by no means a good ford, and none but mountain poneys could keep their legs on a bottom so uneven and rocky.

Havelbagh is probably 2500 feet lower than Almorah, and, in summer, many of the vegetables of hot climates flourish here extremely well. The sugar-cane, however, does not thrive sufficiently to yield sugar, but plantains and mangoes come to some perfection. It is remarkable, that though the summer is much hotter, there is, in winter, more and harder frost here than at Almorah. In the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains, the vegetation, as much of it as exists, is nearly approaching to that of Europe. Raspberries, blackberries, cranberries, and bilberries are found in considerable numbers. The birch and willow here, as in Norway, are the latest trees which shew themselves to persons ascending the hills; but the sides and lower ravines at their feet are covered with



noble silver-fir. But few cedars are now found in the province; tradition describes them as having been once very numerous, and as having been destroyed owing to their value as building materials, a fact which seems attested by the circumstance that all the beams in the old Raja's palace at Almorah, when that was taken down to make room for the fort, were found to be of cedar. In the present forests, fir is the prevailing timber, but, except the silver-firs already spoken of, of a very bad and worthless, though tall and stately kind. Great devastations are generally made in these woods, partly by the increase of population, building, and agriculture, partly by the wasteful habits of travellers, who cut down multitudes of young trees to make temporary huts, and for fuel, while the cattle and goats which browse on the mountains prevent a great part of the seedlings from rising. Unless some precautions are taken, the inhabited parts of Kemaon will soon be wretchedly bare of wood, and the country, already too arid, will not only lose its beauty, but its small space of fertility. Of the inhabitants every body seems to speak well. They are, indeed, dirty to a degree which I never saw among Hindoos, and extremely averse to any improvement in their rude and inefficient agriculture, but they are honest, peaceable, and cheerful, and, in the species of labour to which they are accustomed, extremely diligent. There are hardly twelve convicts now in the gaol of Almorah; and the great majority of cases which come before Mr. Traill are trifling affrays, arising

from disputed boundaries, trespass, and quarrels at fair and market. The only serious public cases which are at all prevalent, are adultery, and, sometimes, carrying off women to marry them forcibly. They use their women ill, and employ them in the most laborious tasks, in which, indeed, a wife is regarded by the Khasya peasant as one of the most laborious and valueable of his domestic animals. These people, though rigid Hindoos, are not so inhospitable as their brethren of the plain. Even Europeans travelling through the country, who will put up with such accommodations as the peasantry have to offer, are almost sure of being well received, and have no need of carrying tents with them, provided their journey is made at a time when the peasantry are at home to receive them, and not during the annual emigration to the plains. The population of Kemaon amounts to about 300,000; that of Ghurwal, on the other side of the Alacananda, is yet more considerable, and the people in a higher state of civilization and intelligence. Of this latter province only a small part constitutes the "reserved dominion of the Raja of Kemaon." The capital of his little territory is called Derea. He is described as a mild-tempered man, but a careless governor, and too fond of money.

There are larks in Kemaon of a sort not very different from the English, as well as quails, partridges, and pheasants. The thrush is, as I have mentioned, black. A little bird, whose note nearly resembles that of a robin, is black and red; and

there is no singing-bird here exactly answering to any in Europe, except the goldfinch, which is found at the foot of the snowy mountains. Eagles are numerous and very large and formidable, and, as their nests are high up in inaccessible crags, and amid the glaciers, it is not easy to abate the nuisance. They do much injury to the shepherds and goatherds, and sometimes carry away the poor naked children of the peasants.

Of wild quadrupeds, besides those which I have mentioned in my journal of the way up the hills, there are hares, much larger and finer than in Hindostan or Bengal, and not inferior to those of Europe. The chamois is not uncommon in the snowy mountains, but scarce elsewhere. There are also lynxes; and bears are common and mischievous throughout the province. Though they do not, except when pressed by hunger, eat flesh, preferring roots, berries, and honey, they, as if out of capricious cruelty, often worry and destroy a passenger. They are said particularly to attack women, a peculiarity which has been remarked in the bear in other countries, and which is one of the many presumptions that they belong to the same class of animals with the baboon and orang-outang. The musk-deer is only found in the highest and coldest parts of the province, and the neighbouring countries of Thibet and Tartary. It cannot bear even the heat of Almorah. The same observation applies to the yâk; it droops as soon as it leaves the neighbourhood of the ice. The shawl-goat will live, but its wool soon degenerates, a very

unfavourable presumption as to the event of the experiment of colonizing them in Europe, which has been tried in France on so large a scale. On the other hand, the animals of the south seem to do very well among the snow. English dogs, impaired by the climate of the plains, improve in strength, size, and sagacity, among the Bhooteahs; and, what is very remarkable, in a winter or two they acquire the same fine, short shawl-wool, mixed up with their own hair, which distinguishes the indigenous animals of the country. The same is, in a considerable degree, the case with horses: those which the Bhooteahs bring down for sale are very beautiful, though rather shaggy little creatures, resembling extremely the Siberian poneys which I saw in Petersburg. The tyger is found quite up to the glaciers, of size and ferocity undiminished, but I could not learn whether he had shawl-wool or no. The fact of his hardiness, however, proves sufficiently that he, the lion, and the hyæna, (which is also common here,) may have lived in England and France without any such change of climate as my friend Mr. Buckland supposes to have taken place. Another instance fell under my knowledge of how much the poor hyæna is wronged, when he is described as untameable. Mr. Traill had one several years, which followed him about like a dog, and fawned on those with whom he was acquainted in almost the same manner. Mr. Adams, and Lady Colquhoun, had each of them beautiful flying squirrels, which, they told me, are not uncommon in the colder and higher parts of these woods. They were

as tame as squirrels usually are, and had all the habits of the European animal. They were, however, a little larger, or perhaps appeared so from the large folds of loose skin covered with beautiful soft and thick fur, which, when they pleased, they extended by stretching out their hind and fore feet. Mr. Traill had several skins of chamois in his possession. The animal seems nearly of the same size and colour with those which I saw, and with the pictures of the European one. It is, however, I think, more shaggy, and better protected against the cold; more like, in fact, a common goat, and its horns seem larger.

Small marmots of the alpine kind abound in the neighbourhood of the snow, but none of the "Leming" or Lapland species, that I could hear of. If they existed, their numbers and annual incursions into the cultivated districts would, probably, soon make them well known.

The rats of this country are the same with those of India, and are very numerous and troublesome. One of the most curious animals I saw or heard of was a wild dog belonging to Mr. Adam. These animals are considerably larger and stronger than a fox, which, in the circumstances of form and fur, they much resemble. They hunt, however, in packs, give tongue like dogs, and possess a very fine scent. They make, of course, tremendous havoc among the game in these hills; but that mischief they are said amply to repay by destroying wild-beasts, and even tygers. This assertion was at first made, at least in print, in Captain

Williamson's Field-sports of India, but obtained very little credit. None of my Kemaon friends, however, doubted the fact, which, they said, was the universal belief of the Khasya peasants, and was corroborated by the fact of tygers having been found lately killed and torn in pieces, which could be ascribed to no other enemy. Mr. Traill did not, indeed, suppose that they would actually chase a tyger by preference, but that if in the pursuit of other game, they fall in with either tyger or lion, they had both the power and the will, from their numbers, swiftness, courage and ferocity, to rush in on him and tear him in pieces, before he would have time to strike more than one or two blows with his tremendous paws. Each of these would no doubt kill a dog, but in the mean time, a hundred others would be at his throat, his back, and sides, and he would sink under the multitude of his comparatively feeble enemies. Mr. Adam's dog was exceedingly wild and fierce. He was brought for me to see him, led by two men, who held him between them in a long chain, and he struggled desperately all the time to recover his liberty. He has begun to endure, with somewhat more placability, the presence of the man who feeds him, but is at present wilder, I think, than any fox I ever saw who had been so much as two months in captivity. If he were domesticated, I could conceive his being a fine and valueable animal. Of dogs he bears the strongest resemblance to those of the Esquimaux and Kamtschadales, as represented in Bewick's engravings.

I had two native visitors during my stay at Havelbagh. One was a vakeel from the Ghorkhali Government, who is now residing in Kemaon, and begged to pay his respects. He was a little, stout, square-built man, with a true Calmuk countenance, figure, and complexion, the latter being considerably fairer than those of Hindostan. He had an intelligent eye and frank lively manner, but my conversation with him was necessarily very limited. He brought some musk, in its form when first taken from the animal, as a present ; and I invested him with a shawl, with which the kindness of Mr. Traill supplied me, as usual on such occasions, from the Government storehouse. I had the satisfaction to learn that he was much pleased with his visit and the little I was able to say to him. My second visitant was the Pundit of the Criminal Court of Kemaon, a learned Brahmin, and a great astrologer. He had professed to Mr. Traill a desire to see me, and asked if I were as well informed in the Vedas, Puranas, and other sacred books of the Hindoos, as another European Pundit whom he had heard preach some years before at the great fair of Hurdwar ? He evidently meant the Baptist Missionary Mr. Chamberlayne ; and it pleased me to find that this good and able, though bigoted man, had left a favourable impression behind him among his auditors. Mr. Traill told him that I had been only a short time in the country ; but he was still anxious to see me, and I regretted much to find, when we met, that his utterance was so rapid and indistinct that I could understand less of his con-

versation than of most Hindoos whom I have met with. He explained to me, however, that three or four years before the British conquered Kemaon he had, through his acquaintance with the stars, foretold the event, and that his calculation, signed and dated, was lodged with the Raja at Derea. He said he had now discovered three new stars, in the shape of a triangle, south-east of the great bear, which, by their position, assured the north an ascendancy over the east, and implied that we should triumph in our present struggle with the Birman empire. I asked him some questions about the form of the earth, the source of the Ganges, the situation of mount Meru, and received better answers than I expected. He said that, in old times, the Ganges was supposed to rise from mount Meru, but that modern Hindoos, at least the enlightened, gave the name of Meru to the North Pole, and were aware that Gunga rose from the peaks, one of which I had seen above Gungotree, and south of the great snowy range, which he called, not Himalaya, but Himmachund. He laughed at the fancy of the elephant and tortoise, whom the Pundits of Benares placed as supporters to the earth, and said it was a part of the same system with that which made the earth flat, and girded in by six other worlds, each having its own ocean. I drew a diagram of the world with its circles, &c. and he recognized them with great delight, shewing me the sun's path along the ecliptic. He expressed a great desire to learn more of the European discoveries in astronomy and geography, and listened with much



attention to my account (in which I frequently had recourse to Mr. Traill as interpreter,) of the Copernican system, and the relative situations of England, Russia, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and India. He asked if we had yet discovered the shorter way to India through the ice of the North Pole, of which, he said, he had heard from a Brahmin of Benares, who had his account from Colonel Wilford: and he knew America under the name of "the New World," and as one of the proofs that the earth was round. He was very anxious to obtain any Hindoo books containing the improved system of astronomy and geography; and complained that Dr. H—— when in Kemaon had promised to send him some, but had forgotten it. He is evidently a man of considerable talent, and extremely desirous to improve whatever opportunities of knowledge fall in his way; and, like all these mountaineers, he is of a lively cheerful turn, without any of the crouching manner and flattering address which is apparent in most of the Hindoos of Calcutta and Benares.

It is pleasing to see on how apparent good terms Mr. Traill is with all these people. Their manner in talking to him is erect, open, and cheerful, like persons who are addressing a superior whom they love, and with whom they are in habits of easy, though respectful intercourse. He says he loves the country and people where he has been thrown, and has declined, as Sir Robert Colquhoun told me, several situations of much greater emolument for the sake of remaining with them. He has pro-

bably, indeed, chosen wisely, since, though he may not return home so rich a man, he is far more likely to take with him the power of enjoying life and property. Almost the whole of the dry season he is travelling about in the discharge of his official duty, and it was a mere chance which gave me the advantage of meeting him now at Almorah.

*December 2.*—I set out early this morning in company with Sir Robert and Lady Colquhoun for Chilkea. Mr. Traill had lent me a couple of tents for this journey, which, with a good deal of my heavier baggage, had been sent on the day before. A still greater number of coolies were necessary than in my ascent from Bamoury, partly on account of some presents of honey, &c. which I had received, and which required to be carried, like the rest, on men's heads, partly because, from the wild and uninhabited character of some part of the country which we were to traverse, I was obliged to give up two mules for the transport of the provisions and necessaries of the coolies themselves. We had a good deal of plague and trouble in dividing the loads to be carried by each man, and were harassed by pitiful complaints, from almost all, of their inability to go through such an expedition, and by their entreaties to be left behind. It seems singular that, among so poor a people, with whom a job of work might at first seem no trifling object, this reluctance should exist, since the rate at which, according to the regulations of Government, their labour is repaid on these occasions, being arranged at two anas for each march, with a similar sum for

their return home, exceeds the average rate of agricultural labour through India, and is much above any thing which they were likely to have earned at home. Yet so it is, that they are always pressed to this service ; that they almost always endeavour to excuse themselves ; that they are apt to desert the first opportunity, even to the forfeiture of their legal hire ; and which tells well for their honesty at least, that, when any suspicion exists that they feel peculiar reluctance, no way is found so efficacious to keep them, as to pay them their money in advance. I can understand their aversion to this employment during the rainy season, when it is really at the risk of life that people descend into the Terrai, or the lower valleys of this province. But at present, though they may encounter hardship and fatigue, there is, literally, no danger ; and I can only account for their reluctance, by supposing that as yet there exists in Kemaon no sufficient occupation for coolies to induce any number of men to addict themselves to this pursuit alone, and that other peasants feel unwilling to separate from their families, and desert their usual routine of industry, for an uncertain and fatiguing, though profitable employment.

From this cause, or from carelessness or corruption on the part of Mr. Traill's chuprassees, many of the men whom they had levied were found quite unfit for the journey now before us. Three were sent back as being poor old creatures who could hardly carry themselves, without any additional burthen, and four were boys whom I should have

also rejected, if it had not appeared that they, of all the party, were almost the only willing recruits; that there were necessarily some light packages which a boy might easily carry; and if I had not apprehended that, if we lost these coolies, we might possibly find much difficulty in getting others in their room. As it was, the party set out so late that they soon found it impossible for loaded mules to travel such roads by such scanty light, and we overtook them little more than half-way, under some rocks, where they had been obliged to lodge for the night. In the midst of these movements one of our party was left behind, for whom I was sincerely sorry. I mean the poor Pariah dog. He had been taking a lively interest, like the rest of his species, in the packing up the day before; and I found him in the morning in his usual post, as if ready to attend me. I missed him when we had gone on about a coss, but even then made no doubt of his following with the servants. He did not come, however, and I suspect that his courage failed him at the first ford which lay in our way, near the suspension-bridge, and which was, indeed, a formidable one.

Our road was very wild and rugged, by the sides and over the ridges of craggy mountains, covered with Scotch firs, and by paths in which none but mountain pôneys, who go almost any where, that a dog can go, would have been able to keep their legs. I observed that our little coursers, on arriving at a difficult place, always looked round to see if there were any easier track, and if there were,

pulled hard to get at it; that if this were not the case, they often, particularly in case of a deep descent, stood pawing with their fore feet some time, as if to satisfy themselves of its practicability, and if they had doubts, usually stood stock still and refused to go any further, under which circumstances it was always wise to dismount. These places, however, did not occur very often, though there were more than one which they went up and down without hesitation, which I could compare to nothing but the broken stair-case of a ruined castle.

We encamped near a village named Pruny, on a beautiful piece of rocky pasture-ground, situated between the two peaks of a lofty mountain, and surrounded on every side by a forest of fir and cedar-trees. At a little distance from our tents, some people who had been sent on by Mr. Traill to prepare the Zemindars to afford the necessary supplies, had constructed a sort of bower or wigwam of pine branches for the use of our fellows. Nothing could be ruder than these leafy scenes; but with plenty of straw, a blazing fire, and sheltered situation, they seemed to satisfy our people; nor could I help noticing that, though we were now 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and it was freezing in the shade almost all day, the Sepoys, soon after their arrival, stripped off all their clothes but their waist-clothes, went to wash themselves as usual in the brook, and remained naked all day till the sun was actually setting, so little reason have we for accusing these people of effeminacy or softness, even in circumstances most at variance

with their general habits and sensations. I myself, though I had a good blanket, quilt, and cloak, was so cold at night that I could hardly sleep. My tent, indeed, was small and thin, and scarcely afforded more shelter than the pine-boughs, with the disadvantage of having no fire and no neighbours to keep me warm. The water in the bason was frozen as hard and thick as it might have been, under similar circumstances, in England, to the great astonishment and delight of my Calcutta servant, who had never seen such a cake of ice before, and, I believe, sincerely regretted that he could not carry it back to Calcutta as a curiosity.

The reflexion of the setting sun on the snowy mountains was extremely beautiful. One of the peaks of Nundidevi was, for a considerable time together, a perfect rose-colour. We had also a magnificent echo near our encampment, which answered with remarkable distinctness, and great power and mellowness, all the different light infantry signals on the bugle of Sir Robert Colquhoun's rangers, which he had brought with him.

*December 3.*—The name of this day's encampment I have forgotten. It was also near a mountain-top, on the skirt of a fine fir-wood and near a village, in which we found, what is not always found at this season, a considerable number of inhabitants yet remaining. Their houses were all of two stories, the lowest was just high enough to allow their diminutive cows and goats to shelter there, and the upper one, which was of timber, with a sloping slate roof, was about as high and in the

same shape as an ordinary cottage garret. In front of each cottage were some small stacks of straw, while others were perched on the roof, to be more effectually out of the reach of the cattle; and all the neighbouring hill-side was built up in narrow terraces, and the subject of assiduous cultivation. The inside of their houses, so well as I could distinguish from the door, was not so dirty as the appearance of the people would have led me to suppose; and the whole had that sort of faint likeness of a Shropshire cottage which, faint as it was, was interesting to me. We passed two fords in this day's march, the first so bad and stoney that it was necessary to unload the mules, and carry the baggage over on men's heads. There were also more places than one where to dismount from our ponies was a matter of absolute necessity.

This is, however, the most frequented road into Kemaon, as leading from Cashipoor and Chilkeah, the two best-attended marts on its frontier; and we passed every day, I think, above one hundred Khasyas, all with burthens on their heads, toiling along these rugged paths. In Kemaon the head and neck seem the constant vehicles; but the Ghurwali, or inhabitants of the western district of our mountain provinces, who are said to be a more intelligent race than their brethren, carry their burthens on the back, with a truss like that of an English porter. They thus do more work with more ease to themselves. But the adherence to "dus-toor," or some other cause, it can hardly be poverty, has as yet kept the Khasyas from imitating

them. Of the poverty of these people, however, I had no idea till I this day saw the bread they eat. It is the grain of a kind of holcus, and looks like clover-seed: the flour, bran, husk and all, is made into thick coarse cakes, like those for elephants, and these are not baked as the elephants' bread is, but laid on the fire and scorched or toasted there, so that part is raw dough, part ashes. To such a people potatoes must, indeed, be an exceeding and obvious blessing. I had a singular instance this evening of the fact how mere children all soldiers, and I think particularly Sepoys, are when put a little out of their usual way. On going to the place where my escort was huttet, I found that there was not room for them all under its shelter, and that four were preparing to sleep on the open field. Within a hundred yards stood another similar hut unoccupied, a little out of repair, but tolerably tenantable. "Why do you not go thither?" was my question. "We like to sleep altogether," was their answer. "But why not bring the branches here, and make your own hut larger? see, I will shew you the way." They started up immediately, in great apparent delight, every man brought a bough, and the work was done in five minutes, being only interrupted every now and then by exclamations of "Good, good, poor man's provider?"

The night was again cold, though not so severe as the last. I was surprised to find so little game, (and so few wild animals of any kind in a country of this nature. Sir. R. Colquhoun told me that he had, in his preceding journeys, generally both heard



and seen more than we had met with, and which were confined to a small flock or covey of jungle fowl, which Lady Colquhoun saw, but which I only heard crowing and cackling. My companions were not able to tell me whether the jungle poultry had ever been tamed. The common domestic fowl of the country, for the inhabitants, rigid Hindoos as they are in other respects, do not object to the touch of feathers, are almost exactly like those of the wood. Both resemble bantams in every respect, except that their legs are not feathered. Bears, Sir R. Colquhoun and all the Khasyas said, are numerous in these woods. We, however, saw none. Tygers are not very abundant, and the appearance of one excites a sort of alarm and outcry in a neighbourhood, like that of a mad dog in Europe. It is not, however, thought desirable to wander far from the usual track, particularly unarmed or alone. I once took a little stroll, though with Mr. Boulderson's double barrelled gun in my hand; and found that my disappearance had occasioned a sort of sensation in the camp, and that my two faithful Sepoys were posting after me.

This occurred the next day, the 4th, when, for the sake of the prospect, we breakfasted, half-way in our intended march, on Choumoka Devi, the highest mountain which I ever actually climbed, (for I did not go to the peak of the Gaughur,) and barely inferior in height to this last-named hill. The Gaughur, Sir R. Colquhoun tells me, is about 8000 feet high; Choumoka Devi is 7800. At the summit, which, like that of mount Gaughur, is or-

namented with noble trees, cypress, toon, and fir, is a small temple of not inelegant structure, in the verandah of which we sate during the heat of the day, and again proceeded in the afternoon. The view was very magnificent; nothing which I ever saw equals the majesty of some parts of the mountain scenery which I have passed through in this province. There is, indeed, a want of water, and I could not help thinking how beautifully these hills would have been reflected in the noble lakes of Norway. But over Norway they have the advantages of a more brilliant sky, a warmer and more luxuriant vegetation, a still greater ruggedness and variety of outline, than is found in Dovre or Fille-Fial; and above all, the icy mountains are such a diadem and centre to the view, as not even Switzerland can shew. I thought them particularly grand when seen in the grey of the morning, while their cold distinct outline was visible along the dark sky, with no refraction to puzzle, or vapours to conceal it. At other times their forms vary according to the shifting lights and shadows, and if it were not for the identity of situation, I could sometimes have doubted whether the peaks which I saw in the haze of noon, were the same with those which in the crimson light of the setting, or the amber brilliancy of the rising sun, had delighted me in so different a manner. Seen, however, as they may be, they are always beautiful and wonderful; and I looked on them from Choumoka Devi with the more admiration, because I knew that I was then to bid them adieu.

We descended thence by a long and rugged declivity of about seven miles, at first through pine woods, then over ground partially cultivated, then through a beautiful and awful dell, surrounded by high crags, in which limestone again took place of slate and granite, overhung by beautiful trees and underwood, of almost every kind which I have met with in Europe or India, and swarming with the pretty white monkeys, of which I have already taken notice. At the bottom of this dell was a torrent, now containing but little water, but by the width of its bed, and the huge granite blocks which it contained by way of pebbles, sufficiently shewing what sort of stream it must be in the rainy season. We followed this about half a mile farther, and found our tents pitched in an angle of the overhanging rocks, with a fine old peepul-tree in front of them, and a little lower the torrent, which had been our guide, joining the Koosilla, itself a torrent no less rapid and noisy, but wider and deeper than its tributary. The peepul which I have noticed is a sacred tree, and gives name to the place, having been planted by a devout Brahmin saint, and therefore called "punta-peepul," the peepul of the caste. We should all of us have liked to have halted here for Sunday; but it could not be done without endangering my arrival at Moradabad on the following Saturday, and we therefore sent on our breakfast-tent as usual. It was much warmer here than in the high grounds; and the noise of the rustling leaves was so like rain, that I more than once during the night pitied my poor people

under their scanty sheds of fir branches, and was surprised at length when, on calling out to know if it rained, I was told that the night was beautiful.

*December 5.*—This morning we had a very tiresome march to a village named Okul-doonga. Besides divers rocky ascents and descents, and without taking into consideration that what little level ground we met with, was on the side of a torrent, and so paved with large loose stones, as to be worse than most beaches of the sea, we forded the Koosilla no less than twelve times, through a rapid stream, frequently as high as the middle of our saddles, and over a bottom the most rocky and uneven I ever passed. The mules were necessarily unloaded no less than three times; it was with the greatest difficulty the poneys could keep their legs, and we were all wet and dry three or four times over, to our knees and higher. Nothing could be clearer than the water, or more beautiful than the swarms of trout which we saw playing round us, but under such circumstances we had no great leisure for speculation; and several complaints were heard, though fewest I think from Lady Colquhoun, that the water was colder than ice. Our Sepoys prayed with chattering teeth, that we might soon get into a sunny place, the mountains having, for the greater part of the march, completely kept us in the shade. They were, however, so fortunate as to find the expiring embers of three fires in different places, the remnants of encampments made by travellers the night before, on which they

heaped dry sticks, and soon got into good-humour again.

Okul-doonga is a village of about ten families, situated on a small plain elevated above the river, and surrounded on two sides by deep woody ravines, and on the other by as wild and woody mountains. Though stoney it seemed fertile, and was in a state of rich cultivation, uniting, like Oude, most of the productions of temperate and tropical climates. We all exclaimed, on first seeing the spot where our tents were pitched, by a clear stream of water, on a green slope, and backed with majestic trees, "What a place for a house, and how such a spot would be admired in England!" Our admiration was not diminished, when, on taking our evening's stroll, we heard the braying of deer, and the crowing of pheasants and jungle-hens in the woods; or, when a basket of bilberries, and a fine dish of trout just caught, were brought to us by a little boy. But a few enquiries at the village damped these pleasurable feelings. The place was described as little less unhealthy than the Terrai. It was, indeed, inhabited by some of its people throughout the year, but they said they had all sad fevers during the rains; and that when it was hot the hills shut out the breezes. Their cottages, however, though small, were tolerably neat and comfortable. The people seemed better fed and clothed than most of the Khasyas, and if not so healthy, though of this I saw no visible signs, were apparently wealthier and more intelligent than the generality of their mountain neighbours.

The huts which they had put up for our people, were of a very superior description in point of comfort, and ingeniously calculated to save time and trouble, as well as the waste of pine-branches and straw. They were made of frames of bamboo, each something like a hurdle in shape and size, well thatched, but light, and easily carried from place to place, which they supported on props when they were wanted, and took away again and laid up in store, so soon as the travellers, for whom they were produced, had left them. Among the Ghurwali, Sir R. Colquhoun said, this was the usual method, but in Kemaon he had never seen it before. Indeed the style of cultivation, and many other circumstances, implied that the people of this district, or their Zemindars, were far better managers than those near Almorah. The rice grown in this neighbourhood, and from hence down as low as Dikkalee, is of a very superior quality, and celebrated all over India for its whiteness and firmness. It is generally called Philibheet rice, from a town of that name in Rohilcund, where is a considerable fair, at which it is sold, and were it first attracted European notice. It is, however, the product not of Rohilcund, but of this valley, and is to be purchased in most perfection at Chilkeah. The district is also celebrated for its bamboos, which, though small, are remarkably tough, and seem to gain consistency and soundness from a certain degree of frost. The same is said to be the case with plantains. The tea-plant grows wild all through Kemaon, but cannot be made use of,

from an emetic quality which it possesses. This might perhaps, be removed by cultivation, but the experiment has never been tried. For the cultivation of tea, I should apprehend both the soil, hilly surface and climate of Kemnagon, in all which it resembles the tea provinces of China, extremely favourable.

The history of the poor lad who brought the fish was not without interest; he was the son of an officer of the Ghorkhas, who, during their occupation of the country, had been Jemautdar of Havelbagh, and had been killed fighting against the English. This boy had been since maintained, as he himself said, chiefly by snaring birds, catching fish, and gathering berries, being indebted for his clothes only, which were decent though coarse, to his mother, and the charity of different neighbours who had pity on him as a sort of gentleman in distress. He had his forehead marked with chalk and vermilion to prove his high caste, had a little Ghorkha knife, a silver clasp and chain, and a silver bracelet on his arm, with a resolute and independent, though grave demeanour, not ill suited to this character. His tools of trade and livelihood were a bow and a fishing-rod, both of the rudest kind. He seemed about sixteen, but was broad set, and short of his age. His ambition was now to be a Sepoy, and he was very earnest with Sir R. Colquhoun to admit him into his corps. He said he should like much to do it, but doubted his height. He, however, told him to meet him at Havelbagh on his return, and he would see what could be

done for him. Mean time we paid him liberally for his fish, and encouraged him to bring us another basket next day at Dikkalee. He said, at first, he feared the fishermen of that place would beat him, but after a moment's recollection, added—"let them do it if they dare—if I have your orders I will tell them so!" He was no uninteresting specimen of a forester born and bred, one who from his tenderest years had depended on his "wood-craft" for a dinner, and had been used to hear the stags bray and the tygers growl round the fires of his bivouake.

We had prayers to-day in our camp, as well as, which indeed we had never omitted, family prayers in the evening.

I have often noticed among the Hindoos, that many of the decenter sort pay a kind of regard to Sunday. The Sepoys, such of them at least as were Brahmins, were more than usually busy to-day with their bells, beads, and ashes, and my long-legged follower had decked himself out in all his glory, having powdered his face entirely with chalk and cow-dung, and marked his naked body all over with white broad lines, which, on his dusky skin, had the strangest effect imaginable; and, he being a very tall, and though strong and muscular, a very thin, large-boned man, made him, at a little distance, look exactly like a skeleton. Had he taken his stand, as he now was, in any Church-yard, few children, women, or men in the parish, would have doubted his unearthly nature. The others were similarly decorated, but with less care and less dismally.



*December 6.*—Salvator Rosa never painted glens more wild and romantic than we threaded to-day in our path to Dikkalee, nor did mules or poneys often pass a worse road. We emerged at length again on the valley of the Koosilla, now considerably increased in size, though fortunately not in depth or rapidity; I say fortunately, because we had again to ford it, and if it had been a few inches deeper than where we passed it last, it would have been necessary to swim our horses. The banks are exceedingly beautiful, high rocks crowned with woods, and broken into all the capricious forms which lime-stone in a rainy climate assumes. The valley is broader and more stoney, and the features in general are in a grander and more savage style. I had, indeed, been strongly impressed during the last three days, with the conviction that this is by far the most beautiful passage into or out of the Kemaon, and that, except the gorge of mount Gaughur, which is without a rival, nothing is seen on the Beemthâl road which equals the valley of the Koosilla. I only hope that, if three years hence, I have the pleasure of taking my wife through this part of India, something like a road will have been made by this passage. It is, decidedly, the most advantageous line, and one in which a track for loaded mules and oxen might be constructed at a very moderate expence. On the other side of the river we found ourselves on more level ground, and rode under a shade of walnuts, toon, and ilex, to Dikkalee, a station of grass huts, occupied during the dry season by a

small detachment of Sir R. Colquhoun's mountaineers, but like Tandah and places of the same kind, deadly at other times.

Of Tandah, however, as well as the rest of this forest, Sir Robert spoke in a less alarming manner than those with whom I had previously conversed. He said that they were all, unquestionably, very unwholesome and dangerous places at particular seasons, but in the present or the past month, they were not worse than many of the low valleys of Kemaon, which were yet often necessarily traversed by the officers of Government. He ascribed much of the unhealthiness both of the forest and the Terrai, to the sudden changes of temperature, the burning sun, and the chilling blasts which often come from the hills. This seemed the only reason why April and May were so pestilential as they were allowed to be.

The Ghorkha boy came with his fish, as he promised ; but his offering was eclipsed by a large basket-full which some fishermen brought. Sir Robert Colquhoun said it was well worth while to see their manner of catching the fish, and we all three went in the evening to the spot where they had laid their nets. It was a small rapid in the river, more shallow than usual, above and below which was a long net, from the space between which they scooped out all the fish which they could find, having, as I understood, drawn their nets in opposite directions up and down the stream, till they had enclosed a considerable number in a comparatively narrow space. To catch them, however they had neither

casting nor scoop nets, nor any thing but their hands, which, as well as their teeth, they used with much dexterity, hunting the fish among the large stones in a very amusing manner. A splendid haul was taken, from which, after choosing one or two of the best for ourselves, and two baskets full for the servants and Sepoys, we told the people who had assisted in the sport, and who were chiefly our own Khasya bearers, that they might take the rest themselves. A scramble, but in much good-humour followed, and this addition to their pay seemed, as often happens, to please them more than the pay itself.

While this was going on, the Ghorkha boy stood by idle. "Why do not you try your luck?" Lady Colquhoun asked him. "I can catch fish for myself," was his answer, "and what use to jostle with fools?" He is evidently a singular character. I wish he may get honourable employment in our army; for, if not, he has about him many of the elements of an excellent Pindarree.

All the fish, except the trout, in these rivers have leather mouths with a stronger power of suction than is usually observable. The common opinion is, that they fasten themselves by this means to stones and rocks in order to be secure against the violence of the stream. There are others also like those of England, but some of them of lighter colour. I this evening took leave of my kind friends, who intended to remain here another day, and then to march by the foot of the hills to Bamoury.

*December 7.*—The way from Dikkalee to Chil-

keah is all forest, but by no means level like the track between Bamoury and Ruderpoor. It is a collection of rocky and woody hills, with a very good road winding through them. The grass is long and the jungle in several places thick, but the trees, many of them very fine ones, stand a good way apart. At length a steep pitch of rugged road brought us out on the plain, and we saw a wretched village before us, with my tents, white and shining in the morning sun, beside it. The first appearance of the inhabitants of Chilkeah was not prepossessing. They had the same yellow skins, the same dull yet fierce look, the same ragged and scanty clothing, the same swords and shields, as those in the other parts of these inhospitable plains. Their cottages were half-buried in tall grass, and the place had not a more auspicious look than the most unhealthy of the eastern villages.

From the mohout, however, of my elephant which was sent to meet me, I had the satisfaction of learning that all the people were well; and in the apparent, and I believe sincere, cordiality which both Sepoys and servants displayed on receiving me after this absence, in returning to my own "accustomed tent" and furniture, in revisiting Câbul and Nedjeed, and in hearing again the "*talâm*" of the two little children of the mohout, I felt for a moment something like the pleasure of home, till I recollected how far I still was, and how long I was likely to be, separated from those who only make home agreeable to me. The old Soubahdar, who received me at the head of his company with pre-

sented arms, drum, and fife, gave a short and favourable account of the progress of his party. They had come straight through the forest from Tandah to Casherpoor, remained there a few days, and thence advanced to Chilkeah ; all were well, both men and animals, except one poor elephant, which had been grievously bruised several years ago in helping to carry a field-peace to Almorah, and whose hurts, strange to say, broke out again as soon as she approached the hills ! The loss of her services was at present very inconvenient, but it was fortunate that we had not sent the mules away.

Chilkeah, though a poor place to look at, is by no means an unimportant one at certain seasons of the year, being one of the principal marts of trade both into Kemaoon, and through that country into Thibet and Tartary. A great number of temporary huts, ranged in the form of a regular town, were already built, and many more were building, for the accommodation of the traders who meet in this emporium, and I was surprised to find English cloths and eastern shawls of good appearance, with many other apparently serviceable and valueable commodities exposed for sale in huts, which scarcely equalled a cottage cow-house in Shropshire. When the unhealthy weather returns, all these huts are abandoned, and, during the rains, fall into nearly total ruin. Yet the Jemautdar of Chilkeah said their water was good, in which all my people agreed, and considered the place as healthy, that is, for one in the Terrai. Such, how-

ever, is the horror with which even this most favoured tract of the lowlands is regarded by the Khasya mountaineers, that Sir R. Colquhoun told me he knew an instance in which six invalid Sepoys rather preferred to give up their pensions than go to Meerut through Chilkeah during the bad season; and another in which a robbery and murder were not prosecuted, because none of the witnesses could be prevailed on by any possible inducement to go to Moradabad, the circuit court. Under these circumstances, it is evident that Kemaon ought to have a separate jurisdiction, and that her military officers should have such power as to enable them to act, in some cases, independently of their superior officers in the plains. This would, however, be difficult, and the only remedy which seems practicable, is to give a latitude in such cases as I have mentioned. The separate judicature seems absolutely necessary, for it is a grievous thing to say, "you shall not obtain justice unless at the great risk of a putrid fever!" The view of the mountains from Chilkeah is very good, but I was satiated with fine scenery, and was only bent on pushing on.

*December 8.*—Next morning, accordingly, we proceeded ten coss to Casherpoor. I went on horseback over a very wild, marshy, and jungly plain, overgrown with grass far higher than my head, and scattered with trees and bushes. I have never seen a more feverish or *tygerly* country, nor was Casherpoor, when I reached it, a bit better looking than Ruderpoor. Surely, if these places

are really healthier than those on the other road, and they are certainly more populous, there must be more in the difference of the water than Europeans are willing to allow.

Casherpoor is a famous place of Hindoo pilgrimage, has divers temples, and a very holy and dirty tank, where the pilgrims bathe in their way to the temples at the foot of Bhadrinâth. None of them, however, are particularly worthy of notice, and the most remarkable thing which I saw was a quack-doctor, a Mussulman, educated, he said, at Lucknow, and well stocked, not indeed with medicines, for he had only a very little satchel, but with all the usual grimace of a merry Andrew, and a good stock of confidence, with some little English and Persian.

In walking to a ruinous fort at a short distance from the town, I passed, however, after I had written this, some noble mangoe-trees, overshadowing the tombs and temples, of which I have spoken, and two walled orchards, planted, as the village Jemautdar told me, by wealthy merchants resident in the place. He said a great trade passed through this channel, and the town, from its superior healthiness, was much preferred to Chilkeah by the rich traders. I asked him if the fever never came here. He shook his head, but said that it was chiefly confined to the poor, and those who had scanty clothing and slept on the ground; a description, however, which comprises nine-tenths of all who ever come into this neighbourhood. He said that Casherpoor was built by a divinity, as I

understood him, named Cashi, 5000 years ago; that it was a great place in all the wars formerly carried on on this frontier, and that this was the best and nearest way to China. Abdullah, who followed us, listened with great attention to his narrative, but interposed a doubt as to the antiquity of the place being so great as he supposed, on the ground that, according to the Persian Chronicles, Jumsheed Jum, who only lived 4700 years ago, was the first who built either in brick or stone, adding in English to me, that "it was he who built the tower of Babel." I was a little afraid of war between the rival Titans, Cashi and Jumsheed, when the long-legged Sepoy, who had also followed, cried out, "There is Nundidevi!" and all eyes were turned either to see the hill of which such wonders had doubtless been told, or, as in my own case, to take a last leave of one of the noblest inanimate works of Providence. Of the white hills Nundidevi alone was visible, but he was very distinctly so. I forget whether I mentioned in its proper place that, all the natives of the country assert, a smoke is often seen to rise from the lower of its highest peaks. This is, they say, the kitchen of the god Nundi; but if it is true, for no European has yet seen it, it is a very curious instance of a volcano situated so far from the sea, the waters of which are, by most chemists, supposed to be necessary to the production of those terrible phenomena. The frequency of earthquakes in these regions might countenance the idea of subterraneous fire, but I have not been able to

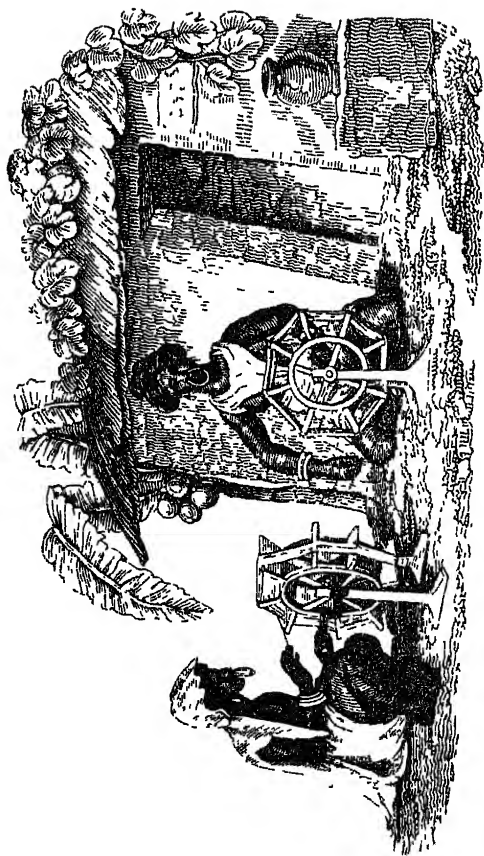


learn that any volcanic remains, whether scoriæ or basalt, have been as yet discovered. It is possible that a fleecy cloud may have been mistaken for smoke; but the labours of captain Herbert, the mineralogist employed by Government, who is described as enterprising and indefatigable, may probably soon throw some light on the question. If there is a volcano on Nundidevi, it must, however, be very inert and almost extinct, or it would have placed itself ere this beyond doubt.

*December 9.*—We proceeded to Belagary, a poor little village, whither we were obliged to take provisions from Casherpoor, as it neither contained bazar nor tradesman. The road was good, and the country improving in fertility and cultivation, though still inferior to the average of India. One of the camel-drivers here complained of illness, and seemed very feverish; I gave him medicine, and finding he had no tent or other shelter, I made his companions, a brutish set, and extremely careless of each other, contrive a little shed for him of camel furniture and sacks, and also ordered one of them to sit by him and give him “congee,” rice-gruel, as often as he complained of thirst. I cannot say that I at all liked either his pulse or his looks; but though I felt again perplexed, I thought that the path which I was treading was at least a safe one. In fact he found himself better in the evening; and I hoped that I had provided against a relapse by giving him a berth in the servants’ tent.

I walked round the village in the evening, merely





HINDOO COTTON SPINNERS.

for the sake of a walk, not anticipating that I should see any thing curious. I was pleased, however, with the appearance of the houses, which, though very humble, were all in good repair, shewed abundance of buffaloes in their little court-yards, and were kept with a degree of cleanliness and smartness, which, though not inseparable from a state of moderate comfort and plenty, (since there are peasants, like the Dutch colonists of the Cape and the north American farmers, who are at once affluent and dirty,) is at least never seen where some degree of comfort and plenty is not found. I saw also the women spinning cotton on small and odd-shaped wheels.

The young women seemed more shy than most Hindoos of their sex are. One poor girl, with red trowsers, a saffron veil, and larger silver anklets than her neighbours, ran away as hard as she could when we approached, but by ill-luck turning down a wrong lane, fell a second time into the jaws of her enemy. I thought for a moment that her alarm was counterfeited, and merely a *fuga ad salices*, but it was evident that such a suspicion did her injustice. All the people, both here and at Casherpoor, are Hindoos, which, indeed, except the descendants of the Patan conquerors, seems the case with almost all the inhabitants of Rohilcund.

*December 10.*—This morning we went to a small town named Boitpoor, or some such name, through a fertile level country, with some groves of very large mangoes and tara-palms. The mangoe-tree

grows to a greater size in the north-east of this province, than in any other part of India I have yet traversed. Several which I passed to-day equalled those at Ruderpoor. It is certainly, I conceive, the largest fruit-tree in the world.

Boitpoor has a small bazar, and a very minute mosque. It is partly inhabited by Mussulmans, who, I thought at first, received us less civilly than the people of most Indian villages. It turned out, however, that the Zemindar, who had also been Jemautdar, was dead, and that his family were not yet visible; consequently the place was without a "Malik," or master; and every body did what he thought right, which, in the present case, was to do nothing. As this would not answer my purpose, I sent a message to the brother of the deceased, stating that I should not trouble him to come to me, but only to order his tenants to furnish the usual supplies, at the usual rate. He came, however, a grey-headed man, apparently in grief, and made many apologies, which I could not persuade him were needless. While we were talking, a man came up, throwing dust in the air, and crying out pitifully for "Justice! justice!" He at first said that "my people had taken his fish, his straw, his bread—that he was plundered, ruined, and must starve, he and his children!" At length I asked him if he had been paid for his fish? He hesitated; but two or three of the people ran up to say that he had had seven anas, which I knew was quite sufficient for the whole basket. I then asked the Zemindar the probable value of the straw

which had been taken, who answered “ a pice.” I gave him two pice, but still he was not satisfied, though he had now confessed he had lost nothing more ; I therefore sent him away, marvelling at the habit which seems to prevail in all these countries, of demanding justice with bitter outcries ; and, even when the affair is a trifle, assuming the air and desperation of a ruined man.

The poor camel-driver was better, but by no means well, and I had a Sepoy complaining to-day. In the evening I took my usual walk, accompanied by the old Soubahdar and the late Zemindar's brother, a very stupid old man, who merely knew that Boitpoor had once been a flourishing place, but had been ruined in the wars. I saw, however, some things worth notice : first, a white buffaloe, a thing which Abdullañ, who also followed me, as did my two inseparable Sepoys, and nearly half the village, pointed out as a great curiosity, such as he, at least, had never seen before. The second was the manner of weaving and dying a coarse kind of chintz, of which there seemed to be a considerable manufactory in the place. The weaving was like other weaving, but the dyeing was done very simply and well, with small types, if I may call them so, made to represent different parts of the pattern, and laid on in succession, after being dipped in different colours. All the colours were vegetable, and I noticed madder, indigo, and a strong good yellow, which they said was extracted from the toon-tree. The fabric of the stuff was bad, but the patterns neat and shewy. A caftan of this stuff, lined with

red or white, and quilted with cotton, is called a "lebada," from "libd," a quilt, in Arabic and Hebrew, and is the common winter-dress of the people in all these provinces. The third particular was a sugar-mill at work, a machine of the simplest construction, but which seemed to answer its purpose tolerably. It consisted of a large vat under ground, covered by a stout platform, in the centre of which was a wooden cylinder, apparently the hollowed stump of a tree. In this was a stout piece of timber fixed as in a socket, which was turned round and round like the stick used in milling chocolate, by a beam fastened to it, to which two oxen were yoked. A man sate on the beam behind the oxen and kept thrusting in, betwixt the upright timber and its socket, pieces of sugar-cane of about a foot long, which were necessarily crushed by the timber as it turned round, so that their juice ran down into the vat beneath. They said that stones, on the principle of a common mill, were far better where they could be procured; but here they were very poor, and stones were dear. Fourth, as I returned home, I passed a fine tree of the mimosa, with leaves at a little distance so much resembling those of the mountain-ash, that I was for a moment deceived, and asked if it did not bring fruit? They answered no, but it was a very noble tree, being called "the Imperial tree," for its excellent properties,—that it slept all night, and wakened and was alive all day, withdrawing its leaves if any one attempted to touch them. Above all, however, it was useful as a preservative against magic; a sprig

worn in the turban or suspended over the bed, was a perfect security against all spells, evil eye, &c. in-  
somuch that the most formidable wizard would not,  
if he could help it, approach its shade. One, in-  
deed, they said, who was very renowned for his  
power (like Lorrinite in Kehama,) of killing plants,  
and drying up their sap with a look, had come to  
this very tree and gazed on it intently; "But,"  
said the old man who told me this, with an air of  
triumph, "look as he might he could do the tree  
no harm!" a fact of which I make no question. I  
was amused and surprised to find the superstition,  
which, in England and Scotland, attaches to the  
rowan-tree, here applied to a tree of nearly similar  
form. Which nation has been, in this case, the  
imitator, or from what common centre are all these  
common notions derived?

I had met several men, within these few days,  
riding on oxen, a custom which I had not remarked  
elsewhere. The oxen seemed very tolerable nags,  
little inferior to the common tattoos of the country.

*December 11.*—This morning we went six coss  
to Moradabad. It is a moderate-sized town, with  
a handsome garden or two, and some remains of  
former splendour, standing on a sluggish river, the  
Ramgunga, as wide nearly in this place as the  
Severn at Shrewsbury, but shallow and fordable,  
apparently, in several places. I was on my ele-  
phant, but it might, without the least difficulty,  
have been passed on horseback. I found that Mr.  
Halhed, and Mr. Parry Okeden were absent from  
home on duty, the whole station being rendered



on the alert by the alarm of a body of armed plunderers having assembled on the skirts of the forest, north of this place, between Chilkea and Hurdwar. I received, however, very great kindness and hospitality from Mr. Ford, the collector of the whole district, (the northern and southern parts of which are divided between Mr. Halhed and Mr. Boul-derson,) who, together with Mr. Scott, the judge and magistrate, called on me early in the forenoon. I had also a visit from Mr. Simms, the junior station Surgeon, (who is brother-in-law to our friend Dr. Bliss, of St. John's,) and I was glad to consult him about my two sick men. I was grieved to find that he considered their complaint as likely to turn out the jungle-fever! His view of the unwholesomeness of the Terrai corresponded entirely with what I had heard at Bareilly, and from Mr. Boul-derson. He said that there were many places along the border which were at all seasons dangerous; that Mr. Halhed's party had already sent in several sick since their pursuit of the freebooters commenced; and though less dangerous at some times than others, he did not conceive either the Terrai or the forest to be ever wholesome places to linger in.

Under these circumstances I felt extremely sorry that I had detained my men even a few days at Chilkea, though in so doing I acted from the best information in my power. Mr. Simms thought that it would turn out a mild case with both of them; but it was necessary that they should be immediately removed to the military hospital. The

poor Sepoy was very unwilling to go, but there was no remedy. The camel-driver was really so ill this morning that he was hardly able to express any choice in the affair. Mr. Simms good-naturally procured dhoolies to carry them, and promised me to pay them all the attention in his power.

*December 12, Sunday.*—I read prayers, preached, and administered the Sacrament to-day, in one of the rooms of the collector's cutcherry, to about twenty persons; a more numerous congregation than I expected, considering that so many of the residents were away. Indeed, Mr. Okeden and Mr. Williams, the assistant registrar, actually, on purpose to be present, returned from the camp, about forty miles off.

The cutcherry is a large and handsome house, which was built by Mr. Leycester when he was judge and magistrate here. It is on the same sort of scale with our house in Calcutta, with the addition of a very splendid gateway as lodge, which would serve for the gate of a city, and an extent of at least twenty acres of land, formerly laid out in garden, but now totally neglected, except as a field for making bricks out of. The most curious part, however, of the place to an English eye, is that this fine house (for it really is a very fine one) is surrounded by a mud rampart, with a deep moat, and four small circular bastions, all now much out of repair. On expressing some surprise at this, I was told that when Mr. Leycester built the house, such a precaution was, in this part

of India, not undesirable, though it was rather unusual.

After service I had three christenings, and an interesting visit from a fine grey-bearded old man, who said he had been converted by Mr. Corrie to Christianity, when at Agra, and that his name was "Noor Musseeh," Light of the Messiah. He came to ask for books, if I had any to spare him ; to introduce his son, a tall, strapping, but not auspicious-looking young man, who was a catechumen, and wished to be baptized ; and, lastly, to beg me to speak to the collector and Mr. Halhed, that he might not be turned out of a small office which he held, and which, he said, he was in danger of losing on account of his Christianity ! This, indeed, was not the reason given, but he said that his comrades in office, fierce Mussulmans, left no stone unturned to misrepresent and ruin him, and that, if he had no protector, he must sink. Abdullah said he knew from his own experience, and from all he had heard from Fyze Musseeh and Abdul Musseeh, that this was very likely to be true, and I therefore did give the poor man a few lines, stating his case, to both Mr. Ford and Mr. Halhed. I also furnished him with a Hindoostanee Prayer book, (he had already the four Gospels,) and with regard to his son, whom he said he had instructed carefully to the best of his knowledge, I told him I could not myself examine him sufficiently to judge of his acquirements in Christianity, which, indeed, did not seem very extensive, but if he would go with me to Meerut, he might put his bed

under the connauts of the tent, and I would give him his provisions, and that there Mr. Fisher should examine and instruct him more fully. The old man was very grateful, and wanted to kiss my knees and feet; the young one bowed very low, and asked my blessing, but did not seem to participate in an equal degree in his father's zeal. This is the third or fourth Christian I have heard of scattered up and down in these mountain provinces, and it is likely that, as Mr. Corrie thinks, there are many more believers in Christ, who dare not, by owning themselves, incur the ill-will of their neighbours.

I went in the afternoon to the hospital to see the Sepoy and camel-driver. The former I found in much distress and depression of spirits, from being in a strange place and without a nurse. Being a Brahmin, he could only receive nourishment, and particularly water, from one of his own caste, and there was no such person attached to the hospital. He was quite sensible, but very feverish, and seemed to think himself left to die. I encouraged him as well as I could, and wrote a note to Mr. Simms, begging him to get a Brahmin for him, which he might easily do from the regiment quartered in the place. The poor camel-driver thought himself better, his fever having intermitted. The hospital is a very comfortable one for this climate, a large thatched bungalow, all in one room like a barn, with sufficient air, and very well verandahed round. The beds were clean and comfortable, and there seemed no want of any thing, but that pecu-

liar attendance which the prejudices of the Hindoos require, and which, I was given to understand, would on my application be immediately supplied.

Mr. Parry Okeden called on me in the course of the day. He considered the banditti, whom they had been pursuing, as completely dispersed. They followed them a day or two, and once were very near surprising them in their bivouake, where they found the embers still hot, and the pitchers for cooking not all empty. They had issued promises of reward for the apprehension of the ringleaders, but did not expect much result from the measure.

I had an opportunity here of seeing the way in which ice is made all over Upper India. A number of broad and very shallow earthen pans are placed on a layer of dry straw, and filled with water. In the night, even the small degree of frost which is felt here, is sufficient to cover these with a thin coat of ice, which is carefully collected and packed up. The quantity produced must be, however, very small, and the process an expensive one. Vines seem to thrive well here, but they do not prune them close enough. They are very beautiful objects, but a vine to be productive should be trimmed till it is downright ugly. Here the climate might answer very well. In Kemacon it does not; the rains setting in so early that the fruit has not time to ripen. On the whole, I am rather struck with the apparent similarity in many points of productions, scenery, &c. of Rohilcund with Bengal. The climate is certainly different, yet in other respects they resemble each other more than any

parts of India which I have yet visited. Rohilcund, however, in every thing but rivers has much the advantage.

I saw, frequently, during the last week, the nest of the tree-wasp, about the size of, and nearly similar in shape to those of the English, but hanging like large withered fruit from the branches of trees. I have not seen any of the insects themselves, at least to distinguish them, nor have I been able to learn whether, and, in what respects, they differ from their brethren who hive in banks and hollow places.

Like almost all the nobility of India, the Nawáb of Rampoor is a mere drunkard and voluptuary. He had, lately, a very clever managing steward, under whom his little territory prospered greatly. But, like the King of Oude, he has now got rid of him, and his Jaghire is pretty much administered according to the ancient Indian maxim :

“ The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can ! ”

Rampoor is described as a large town, chiefly remarkable for the sort of fortification which surrounds it. This is a high thick hedge, or rather plantation, of bamboos, set as close to each other as possible, and faced on the outside by a formidable underwood of cactus and bâbool. The only places of entrance are narrow paths defended by strong wooden barriers, and the defence is one which, against irregular troops, is said to be ex-

tremely efficient, since neither cavalry nor infantry can be brought up to act against an enemy whom they cannot see, but who fire at them from between the stem of the bamboos, under cover of the thorny and almost impenetrable bushes without.

*December 13.*—This morning we left Moradabad and marched ten short coss, about sixteen miles, to Tyleepoor, a paltry little village, at a considerable distance from the necessary supplies, but which was the best halting-place within our reach : that laid down in Paton's route being above twenty miles, a distance too great to march without some real necessity. There is a good deal of waste land between Moradabad and Tyleepoor, and the soil seems poor and barren. There are also some marshy pools, and we forded a small river.

I had another Sepoy very feverish to-day, and suspect that he had been ill some time, and had concealed it for fear of the hospital. I know not whether fortunately or otherwise, they have acquired a marvellous opinion of my medical skill. This renders them very willing to take my remedies, but it may lead them to trust to me too far. I gave this man a dose of calomel and jalap, being afraid of James's powder, as it was near night, and he had to march next day.

I read Hindoostanee prayers this evening with Abdullah and the new Catechumen, Jaffier Beg, who has rather risen in my favourable opinion. He has evidently taken a good deal of pains in studying the four Gospels, the only Christian books which he has yet seen ; and his questions were very

numerous. He joined in the Lord's Prayer with much seeming devotion, and said he understood the other prayers which I read. I am, however, vexed more and more at the little ground which I gain in the language ; and at the little time which I have for improving myself. Yet the one is the consequence of the other ; and for the last I have no remedy, now that I have neither secretary nor assistant, and have so much of my day taken up by travelling and the necessary preparations for travelling. Lushington and Archdeacon Corrie were considerable helps to me in writing, &c. but I do not know that their presence at all forwarded my progress in Hindoostanee.

*December 14.*—This day's march was ten coss, to a small and poor village named Muhaisna ; where we had some difficulty in obtaining supplies, and found the Ryuts disposed to grumble and be uncivil. One of the men, who was fiercest and loudest, was a remarkably tall and fine-looking young man, with a silver bracelet of a singular form on his arm, which struck me from its classical character, being two serpents twined together. They complained that hay had been taken without paying for it, which did not appear to have been the case ; and at last the principal farmer of the village owned that their outcries were from fear of what would be taken, rather than from any mischief which my people had already done.

In our way we passed through the outskirts of Amroah, a considerable town, with some neat mesques and extensive gardens, with walls and



summer-houses, and surrounded with large plantations of sugar and cotton. The generality of the country, however, is poor, sterile, and ill-inhabited, with more waste land than is usual in India. The sown land, too, appeared suffering exceedingly from drought, which, indeed, is the case with all Rohilcund.

This station of Muhaisna was a bad one in another respect. The only grove of trees was on a broken piece of ground intersected with gullies, and so overgrown with weeds that the tents could not be pitched there; and I was obliged to encamp on the plain near two fine peepul-trees, which, however, were by no means sufficient for the comfort of the people, and the numerous animals of our cofila. The groves of fruit-trees are the surest marks, I think, of prosperity about an Indian village, and in this part of Rohilcund their rarity and, generally speaking, their insignificant size, shew that the land is either naturally almost irreclaimable, or that, lying near the Ganges, and the frontier exposed to the usual stream of invasion, the country has not recovered the horrors of that time, when the Maharatta was their near and triumphant neighbour. A strong proof of the recollection which the calamities of that time has left behind is, that when the people of Bareilly were informed not long since that the money raised by internal duties was to be laid out for the improvement of their town, they expressed a general wish that their walls might be repaired. On asking "what enemies they feared?" they replied that all was

quiet at the moment, but they could not tell but the Maharattas might one day return.

I had more applications to-day for medicine, and putting worrying in place of beating, found I was in as fair a way to be forced into considering myself an able physician as Sgnagnarelle, in the *Médecin malgré lui*. The Sepoy declared himself quite well; which emboldened one of his comrades to complain of being feverish; and a Ryut, hearing the application, came forward also to beg something for sore eyes. He was not, however, content with my medical aid, for immediately afterwards he said in a low tone that a man had been killed in the village of which he was Thannadar, and he should get into trouble unless I stood his friend!

The weather was so cool and cloudy that I hoped rain was coming; I did not indeed wish for a decided fall before I got into Meerut, yet even this I would have gladly borne, to see the poor dry clods moist and hopeful.

*December 15.*—This morning we came, a march of eight coss, to a village named Tighree. Half-way we passed another village named Gujrowlie, with a tolerable serai, where one of my horses had been sent on before to give me the advantage of a change, as usual in Indian travelling. The country thus far was cultivated, not well, nor fully, but still there were marks of cultivation, though every thing was grievously parched for want of rain. The remainder of the distance lay through a desolate tract, once evidently well inhabited, as was

apparent by the few palm-trees scattered up and down, but now, and probably for many years, waste and overgrown with high jungle-grass.

Tighree itself is a poor place, a small village, with a few patches of corn round it, in the midst of the wilderness, without any tree, except one or two scattered palms, and scarcely space enough between the young wheat and the jungle to admit of our encampment. The day was hot, and the people and animals suffered a good deal for want of shade, added to which, all our supplies were to come from Gurmukteser, a distance of three coss, so that it was almost noon before either grass for the horses, or fuel or food for the men arrived, and much later before the poor camels and elephants got their boughs. The Jemautdar, however, and Tussildar of Gurmukteser, were civil, and, at length, furnished us with every thing, except that the kid which they sent had the rot and was uneatable. There was no fire-wood in the neighbourhood, but the Tussildar sent a cart-load of dung-cakes, and would take no repayment, saying it was no more than dustoor. There was little to tempt me out here, and it was more from dustoor, than any thing else, that I walked in the evening to see the village, which I found neat, though small and poor. The cottages in Upper India have generally the mud walls of their front whitewashed, and a rude painting of flowers or some figures of men, animals, or divinities, painted on each side of their doors, a circumstance which I never remarked in Bengal or Bahar, and which has a lively and agreeable effect.

They have also, generally, on one side of this door, a small platform of clay beaten hard, raised about a foot, and swept very clean, on which the family usually sit in the cool of the day, and where, at such times, their spinning and other household works are carried on.

The Jemautdar of Gurmukteser, who accompanied me in this walk, said that the Ganges, at present, was distant about two coss ; but that during the rains it came up close to this village. He said that Tighree and the jungles round it were celebrated as hunting-ground all over this part of India : that there was great abundance of wild hogs, deer, and all other animals, except elephants. These require a deeper forest and large trees, both for shelter and nourishment. I asked if there were many tygers ? He said plenty ; but that there was a very wonderful thing in the neighbourhood ; that there were two Hindoo Yogis, who lived in different cells in the wilderness, about two coss from the village, in opposite directions, of whom the one was never hurt by the tygers though living in the neighbourhood where they most abounded, and where no other man would pass a night for half Rohilcund ; while, to the other, a tyger actually came every night and licked his hands, and fondled and lay by him for hours. At first, from my imperfect knowledge of the language, I fancied it was the same sort of story which I had heard concerning the saint's tomb at Sicligully ; but on asking if it was where the Yogi was buried, he explained himself very clearly, that the saint

was still alive,—that he was very old, and went quite naked, with a long white beard and hair—that his dwelling was a little hut among the long grass, not far from the road-side, in the way to Gurmukteser, and that there were people who had been there at night, and seen him and his tyger together. He added, that he lived by charity, but never asked for any thing except he was actually hungry, which was seldom the case, as from his high reputation, he was generally supplied. I asked the Jemautdar if he had seen the tyger? He answered “ No, because he had never been there at night, but that there was no doubt of the fact.” I asked, “ If I were to go there now, (it was growing dusk,) should I see him ?” He answered that I might have done so, if the holy man had been at home, but that he had gone the day before to Amroah, and that I must have passed him on the road. In fact, the saees who had been sent on to Gujrowlie said that he had seen a very remarkable old man, answering to the description given, seated in a corner of the serai at that place. The Jemautdar was a Mussulman, and had no motive for swelling the praises of a Hindoo saint, so that I have little doubt that he himself believed what he told me, nor, indeed, do I think the fact impossible, or even improbable. Similar stories are told of hermits in Syria, whose cells have been frequented by lions,—and a lion I should conceive to be as formidable a chum as a tyger; and it certainly is not unlikely that a man, with no other occupation or amusement, might very thoroughly tame a tyger’s whelp,

so as to retain a hold on its affections, and to restrain it, while in his presence, from hurting others, even after it had arrived at its full growth and fierceness. Every animal is, *æteris paribus*, fiercer when tied up or confined; yet the great tyger at Barrackpore would I have no doubt, allow his keeper to sleep in the same den with him; in a wilderness abounding with hogs and deer, there would be little risk of the tyger's coming home so hungry as to be tempted to attack his friend; and the principal danger of the devotee would be from the rough fondling of his pet when he was two-thirds grown. As to the supposed safety of the rival saint, that I conceive to be merely luck, added to the fact that, except a tyger be provoked, or much pressed by hunger, or have once tasted human flesh, it seems pretty certain that he seldom attacks a man.

The poor Sepoy to whom I had given medicine the day before, and who was this morning reported much better, was again attacked with fever at night. I gave him a rather stronger dose than before, but by no means felt easy about him.

I am not sure whether I mentioned in their proper places two curious facts which were told me in Kemaon respecting the forests and their productions. The one is, that fires often take place in the jungles during the dry season, by the mere friction of the cane stalks against each other in high winds. This was first told me by the Raja Gourman Singh, and it was confirmed, at least as being the usual opinion of the people, by Mr. Traill and

Sir. R. Colquhoun. A scene of this sort, and arising from this cause, is described in Leyden's Scenes of Infancy, but I had always, till now, supposed that the poet's fancy, rather than his reading, had been his prompter here. The other is, that the Boa Constrictor is frequently found, particularly in the wood between Bamoury and Dikkalee, under the immediate feet of the hills. These snakes are of enormous size, but not much feared by the natives, since though they have, in their opinion, sufficient strength to master a buffaloe, they are proportionably unwieldy. Many stories are told here as in Surinam, of persons stepping on them by mistake for fallen trees, and being terrified on finding them alive.

*December 16.*—From Tighree to the ferry of the Ganges is about three coss, all wild jungle. Half-way we passed the hermitage of the tyger-saint, a little cottage almost buried in long grass, but both larger and more apparently comfortable, than, from the Jemautdar's description, I had expected. We now took leave of the noble Ganges, not again to see it till our return by sea to Saugor Island. Even here, at this distance from the sea, and in almost the driest season of the year, it is a great and mighty river, not far short, as I think, of the Thames at Westminster bridge. During the rains, it must, judging from its traces on both sides, be nearly four miles across. I had frequently asked military men whether the Ganges was in any way fordable after it left the hills, and had, as usual in India, received contradictory and unsatisfactory an-

swers, but the impression left on my mind was, that it was fordable both at Gurmukteser and Anopshehr. On asking the Jemautdar and ferry-men, however, they all agreed that there was no ford in its whole course. Here there certainly was not; since, as the boats could not receive our elephants, and they tried to wade through, even they were, in the middle of the stream, compelled to swim, a sight which I was not at all sorry to have an opportunity of seeing. All three could swim, which was fortunate, as this is not always the case with them. I did not think that the one which I remarked, sank so deep in the water as had been described to me, or as the elephant is represented as doing in Captain Williamson's print.

In the course of this day's march, a circumstance occurred which proves, I think, how much the people of this country look up to the English for help and counsel in all emergencies. I was going along a jungly piece of road, for all this day's march as well as yesterday's was more or less jungly, when I saw a little cluster of travellers of the lower class surrounding somebody on the ground. As soon as they saw me they immediately ran up, saying, that one of their friends was sick, and they begged me to look at him and give him medicine. The man, as it turned out, had only a little cholic, which was well before my physic chest arrived to enable me to give him medicine. But what struck me, was the immediate impulse which led these men to suppose, on seeing an European riding along the road, that he was likely to help and advise them!



Surely, if this opinion is general, it must be one of the best holds we have on our Indian empire.

Shahjehanpoor, a common name in India, is a large and picturesque town, with a ruined castle, several mosques, and some large and fine groves and pools of water. I saw, however, but little of it, for I had a good deal of business during the day, getting ready my letters to be despatched from Meerut, and in the evening having patients again. The Sepoys indeed were well, but two poneys, one belonging to Mr. Forde's chuprassee, the other, a very pretty one, to Cashiram the goomashta, were taken exceedingly ill. The causes of their attack were variously stated, but I believe that the saees had given them too much and too acid gram immediately after their journey. They had both the appearance of palsy or staggers, had lost the use of their loins, reeled to and fro, and at length fell. Before I heard of it they had given them brandy, pepper, and I know not what, and when I saw them they had every symptom of violent inflammation of the bowels. I advised bleeding immediately; nobody could do this but Abdullah, and there was no proper instrument but my penknife; while I was hunting for this, one of the horses died, and the other was evidently in extremity. Abdullah opened the usual vein, but very little blood would run; in fact, they had given it arrack enough to kill an elephant. It died in the course of the night, and all which gave me pleasure in the business, was the exceeding attachment of the poor saees to it. He wrung his hands over it, as if it

had been his brother, sate by it, supporting its head, and rubbing its ears and neck, till life was actually gone, and, as it appeared, it was his ignorant good-will in giving too large a feed of corn, which had done the mischief. Cashiram bore his loss very well, and said not a single cross word to his servant the whole time. I wish all Christians might have behaved with as much propriety.

*December 17.*—To-day we went six coss to Mow, a poor village without trees, where, however, by the advantage of a firmân from the collector of Meerut, and of a very civil Tussildar, we got supplies in abundance, and were allowed to pay for nothing. In the afternoon a large troop of gypseys, as I and all my people thought they were, though they themselves disowned the term, came to the camp. They said they came from Ahmedabad in Guzerât, were going on pilgrimage to the Ganges, and had been eight months on their road. They pretended at first to be Brahmins, to the great scandal and indignation of Cashiram, who is a Brahmin, and reproved them with much austerity for their presumption. I asked them to shew their "strings," on which they confessed they had none, but still persisted that they were Rajpoots. "Tell me the truth," said I, "are you Bheels?" the name of the wild mountaineers near Ahmedabad. My people laughed at this question, and said they certainly were Bheels and nothing else. They, however, stiffly denied it. They were very merry, but very poor wretches, nearly naked, and the leanest specimens of human life I have ever seen; so

wretched, indeed, was their poverty, that I immediately sent for a supply of pice to distribute among them, pending the arrival of which, a man and woman, who seemed the Tramezzani and Catalini of the party, came forwards, and sung two or three songs, the man accompanying them on a vina, a small guitar like the Russian balalaika. Their voices were really good, and though they sung in the vile cracked tone which street-singers have all the world over, the effect was not unpleasant ; but it was a strange and melancholy thing to hear a love-song, expressive, so far as I could catch the words, of rapture and mutual admiration, trilled out by two ragged wretches, weather-beaten, lean, and smoke-dried. The poor little children, though quite naked, seemed the best fed, and I thought they seemed kind to them, though one old man, who was the head of a party, and had an infant slung in a dirty cloth, like a hammock, to a stick, which he carried in his hand, held it carelessly enough ; insomuch that, till I asked him what he had in his bundle, and he opened his cloth to shew me, I did not suppose it was a child. I gave them an ana each, children and all, with which they went to buy ghee and flour in the village, and soon after made a fire under a neighbouring peepul-tree. I saw them in the course of the evening at their meal, and one of the collector's suwarra said he heard them pray for me before they sat down. I should have fancied them very harmless poor creatures, or at worst, only formidable to hen-roosts, and in such petty thefts as gypseys practise in

England. But I find these rambling parties or self-called pilgrims bear a very bad character in Hindoostan. They are often described as "Thugs," the name given to the practice of which they are accused, that, namely, of attaching themselves, on different pretences, to single travellers or small parties, and watching their opportunity to fling a rope with a slip-knot over the heads of their victims, with which they drag them from their horses, and strangle them. So nimbly and with such fatal aim are they said to do this, they seldom miss, and leave no time to the traveller to draw a sword, use a gun, or in any way defend or disentangle himself. The wretches who practise this are very numerous in Guzerât and Malwah, but when they occur in Hindoostan are generally from the south-eastern provinces. My poor gypseys, I hope, as they appeared at least grateful, were not monsters of this atrocious description.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### MEERUT TO DELHI

*Situation of Meerut—Church—Consecration—Valley of the Dhoo—Condoi—Anecdote of Begum Sumnoo—School—Hospital—Confirmation—Surgeon appointed—Skinner's Horse—Heavy Rain—Delhi—Tomb of Humayoon—Aqueduct—Firoze's Walking-stick—Immense extent of Ruins—Shawl Manufactory—Jumna Musjeed—Presentation to the Emperor—Palace—Koottab-sahib—Present from the Begum—Late and present Emperors of Delhi*

DECEMBER 18.—This morning I proceeded to Meerut, and was met at a little distance from the town by Mr. Fisher, the Chaplain, (whom I had once, many years ago, heard preach at Knaresborough,) and two of his sons, one a Chaplain on the Company's establishment, the other a lieutenant in the same service, and some officers of the troops in garrison; an accession of society which put Cábul into such high spirits, that I almost thought he would have *shamed* me, as he neighed like a trumpeter, lashed out all ways, reared, jumped with all four feet from the ground, and did every other coltish trick which could shew his surprise, and tend to discompose the gravity of his rider. He has, however, no real vice, and his transports gradually subsided.

I pitched my tent, by Mr. Fisher's invitation, in his compound, which is an unusually large one.

Two other Sepoys were this day added to the sick-list, and, with my former patient, removed to the hospital, whither I sent with them a recommendation to the good offices of the surgeon, and directed since I was myself to stay some time in the place, that one of their comrades should go every day to see that they wanted nothing.

Meerut is a very extensive cantonment, but less widely scattered than Cawnpoor. The native town, too, on which it is engrafted, is much less considerable. It stands advantageously on a wide and dry plain, all in pasture, which would afford delightful riding-ground, if it were not, like the steppes of Russia, which it much resembles, very full of holes made by the small marmot, which is common there and called "suslik." Its Hindoostanee name I have not learned. A small nullah, with a handsome bridge over it, runs through the town. When I saw it, it was quite dry, and the bridge seemed absurd; but Mr. Fisher said that, during the rainy months it was not a bit longer than was necessary. The Church is much the largest which I have seen in India. It is 150 feet long, 84 wide, and, being galleried all round, may hold at least 3000 people. It has a high and handsome spire, and is altogether a striking building, too good for the materials of which it is composed, which, like the rest of the public buildings of this country, are only bad brick covered with stucco and whitewash. It is the work of Captain Hutchinson.

*December 19.*—The Church, which I have described, was consecrated this day with the usual

forms. The congregation was very numerous and attentive, the singing considerably better than at Calcutta, and the appearance of every thing highly honourable both to the Chaplain and military officers of this important station. I had the gratification of hearing my own hymns, "Brightest and best," and that for St. Stephen's day, sung better than I ever heard them in a Church before. It is a remarkable thing that one of the earliest, the largest, and handsomest Churches in India, as well as one of the best organs, should be found in so remote a situation, and in sight of the Himalaya mountains. The evening service was very well attended, and this is the more creditable, inasmuch, as I have elsewhere observed, all who then come are volunteers, whereas attendance in the morning is a part of military parade.

I had heard Meerut praised for its comparative freedom from hot winds, but do not find that the residents confirm this statement : they complain of them quite as much as the people of Cawnpore, and acknowledge the inferiority of their climate in this respect to that of Rohilkund. The beautiful valley of the Dhoon, since its conquest by the British, affords a retreat to their sick, which they seem to value highly ; and it has the advantage of being accessible without danger at all times ; but, except during the dry months, even this lovely valley is not wholesome. Mr. Fisher had some drawings of different parts of the Dhoon, which represented scenery of very great beauty and luxuriance, on a smaller and less awful scale than Khamboon. The

animals seem much the same ; but Lieutenant Fisher gave me a fuller account than I had yet received of the eagle, or as, from his statement, it rather seems to be, the condor, of these mountains. It appears to belong to this latter tribe from the bareness of its neck, which resembles that of the vulture, and the character of its beak, which is longer and less hooked than the eagle's, and perhaps, too, from its size, which exceeds that of any eagle of which I have heard. Lieutenant Fisher shot one very lately at Degra, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings, and had talons eight inches long. He was of a deep black colour, with a bald head and neck, and appears strongly to resemble the noble bird described by Bruce as common among the mountains of Abyssinia, under the name of "Nisser." This is, no doubt, the bird which carries away the children from the streets of Almorah. The one which Mr. Fisher shot could, he was sure, have carried up a very well-grown boy. Nor have I any doubt that it is the "rok" of the Arabians. In Sindbad's way of telling a story, so formidable an animal might be easily magnified into all which that ingenious voyager has handed down to us concerning his giant bird.

*December 20.*—I observed this morning, at the gate of Mr. Fisher's compound, a sentry in the strict oriental costume, of turban and long caftan, but armed with musquet and bayonet, like our own Sepoys. He said he was one of the Begum Sumroo's regiment, out of which she is bound to furnish



a certain number for the police of Meerut and its neighbourhood. Her residence is in the centre of her own Jaghire at Sirdhana, about twelve coss from Meerut; but she has a house in this place where she frequently passes a considerable time together. She is a very little, queer-looking old woman, with brilliant, but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features. She is possessed of considerable talent and readiness in conversation, but only speaks Hindoostanee. Her soldiers and people, and the generality of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood pay her much respect, on account both of her supposed wisdom and her courage; she having, during the Maharatta wars, led, after her husband's death, his regiment very gallantly into action, herself riding at their head into a heavy fire of the enemy. She is, however, a sad tyranness, and, having the power of life and death within her own little territory, several stories are told of her cruelty, and the noses and ears which she orders to be cut off. One relation of this kind, according to native reports, on which reliance, however, can rarely be placed, is very horrid. One of her dancing girls had offended her, how I have not heard. The Begum ordered the poor creature to be immured alive in a small vault prepared for the purpose, under the pavement of the saloon where the nâch was then celebrating, and, being aware that her fate excited much sympathy and horror in the minds of the servants and soldiers of her palace, and apprehensive that they would open the tomb and rescue the victim as soon as her back

was turned, she saw the vault bricked up before her own eyes, then ordered her bed to be placed directly over it, and lay there for several nights, till the last faint moans had ceased to be heard, and she was convinced that hunger and despair had done their work. This woman calls herself a Christian, of the Roman Catholic faith, which was that of her husband Summers. ("Sumroo" is the Hindoostanee pronunciation of the German surname.) She has a Roman Catholic Priest as her Chaplain, and has lately begun to build a very large and handsome Church at Sirdhana, which will rival, if not excel, that of Meerut in size and architectural beauty.

I dined this day with General Reynell. His Aide-de-camp, Captain Meade, is a very accomplished artist, and shewed me a portfolio of splendid drawings; some of them were from views in the Dhoon, and the mountains near Sabathoo. These last bear some resemblance to those of Kemaon, which they nearly equal in height, but the snowy range of Himalaya is removed to a much greater distance, and only visible from the tops of the highest hills. The lower parts of the Dhoon seem as like Wales as possible.

*December 21.*—I went with Mr. Fisher to-day to a school which he has established in the old city of Meerut; I had previously seen this very imperfectly, but I now found it larger than I expected, with a ruined wall and fort, and some good architectural remains of mosques and pagodas. The school is well managed and numerously attended.

The boys are taught reading and writing in Hindoostanee and Persian, and receive, such of them as desire it, which they all do, instruction in the Gospels. They read fluently, and construed Persian very well. Their master is a Christian convert of Mr. Fisher's. I also went to the native hospital to see the three sick Sepoys, two of whom I found much better, the third still ill. They seemed very grateful for the visit, and said that they were well treated, and wanted nothing. Mr. Lowther, the Judge and Magistrate of Bundishehr, with his wife, passed the evening at Mr. Fisher's. They pressed me, which I should have liked much, to take their station in my way from Delhi to Agra. But Muttra is too important a place to be passed by, and this would be the necessary consequence of my accepting their invitation.

*December 22.*—I went with Mr. Fisher to a small congregation of native Christians, to whom, not being able to give them a service on Sunday, he reads prayers and preaches on this day. About twenty people were present, one the "Naick," or corporal, whom, in consequence of his embracing Christianity, Government very absurdly, not to say wickedly, disgraced by removing him from his regiment, though they still allow him his pay. He is a tall, stout, plain-looking man, with every appearance of a respectable and well-behaved soldier. Another was Anund Musseeh, a convert of Mr. Corrie's, who has a good deal distinguished himself as a catechist at Delhi, and on whom Mr. Fisher wants me to confer ordination. He is a tall, coarse-

looking man, without much intellect in his countenance, but is said to be very eloquent and well-informed, so far as a knowledge of Hindoostanee and Persian enables him. I had, afterwards, repeated conversations with him, and was pleased by his unassuming and plain manner.

*December 23.*—This morning I breakfasted with General Reynell. In the evening Mr. Fisher read prayers and preached to a tolerably numerous congregation, it being his custom to have service of this kind every Wednesday and Friday.

*December 24.*—This day I confirmed about two hundred and fifty people, young and old, of whom between forty and fifty were natives converted to Christianity by Mr. Fisher. Surely all this is what we could hardly expect in so remote a part of India, and where no Englishman had set his foot, till the conquests made by Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley. The rest of the day I was busy writing letters. The Sepoy whom I had left sick at Moradabad rejoined me; but the camel-driver, he said, was still very dangerously ill. The men who were in the hospital at Meerut, were declared convalescent.

*December 25.*—Christmas-day. A very large congregation, and above two hundred communicants.

*December 26.*—I preached, and after evening service confirmed twelve persons who had not been able to attend on the Friday.

*December 27.*—I received a present of fruit from the Begum Sumroo, together with a civil message,

expressing a hope to see me at Sirdhana, to which I returned an answer in an English letter. Though she herself does not understand the language, she has many people about her who do, particularly Colonel Bryce, who acts as a sort of Resident at her court. My tents and servants set off this evening.

I received a very kind offer from General Reynell to assign me a medical attendant in my march to Bombay, there being a Dr. Smith at the time in Meerut, who had just come with a detachment of troops from Mhow, and was not attached to any specific service there; he was highly recommended as an able man, and one who, by his local knowledge, would be very useful to me in my journey. I had suffered so much during my residence at Dacca, and subsequently in my own illness, and when my escort and servants were attacked with the fever in Kemaon, for want of a medical attendant, that I felt extremely glad of such an offer. Indeed, with upwards of a hundred people in my train, and on the point of commencing a journey through countries of the wildest character, where no medical assistance could be obtained in marches of, in one instance, twenty-four, and in another of twenty-three days, such a precaution is most necessary and reasonable.

*December 28.*—I set off from Meerut by Dāk, as far as Begumabad, a large village forming a part of the Jaghire of a Maharat's Princess, under the protection of the English Government. Here I mounted Nedjeed—did I ever tell you the name

of my little Arab horse before?—and pursued my journey, escorted by five of Colonel Skinner's irregular cavalry, the most showy and picturesque cavaliers I have seen since I was in the South of Russia. They had turbans of dark red shawl, long yellow caftans with dark red cummerbunds, and trowsers of the same colour. The commander of the party had a long spear with a small yellow pennon, the others had each a long matchlock-gun which they carried on the right shoulder with the match ready lighted. They had all, likewise, pistols, swords, and shields, and their caftans and turbans so strongly quilted, as to secure them against most sabre-cuts. Their horses were very tolerable in size and appearance, but hot and vicious, and the whole cavalcade had an appearance remarkably wild and Oriental. They are reckoned, by all the English in this part of the country, the most useful and trusty, as well as the boldest body of men in India, and during the wars both of Lord Lake and Lord Hastings their services and those of their chief were most distinguished. Colonel Alexander Skinner is a good and modest, as well as a brave man. He had just devoted 20,000 sicca rupees to build a Church at Delhi. Unfortunately I shall not meet him there, as he is now on the frontier with most of his men, fighting the rebellious clans of Seiks and Mewatties. The Hindoostanees, who respect him very highly, call him by a whimsical, but not ill-applied corruption of his name, "Secunder Sahib," Lord Alexander.

My tents had gone on to the next station, Fur-

rucknuggur, but I was met on the road thither by Mr. Charles Elliott, son of the Resident at Delhi, and assistant collector of Meerut, a clever young man whom I had met at Mr. Fisher's, who pressed me to come and pass the day with him in his tent at Gaziodeen-nuggur, a small ruinous walled town; we did not reach his encampment till near twelve o'clock at noon. But the sun here, though hot, is at this season not mischievous, and I passed a pleasant day. After dinner I had a moonlight ride over a very rough and broken country, and through a river to my tent. The ford was not deep, but so wide that if I had not had people with me who knew the country, I should have hesitated to essay it by such a light. I had no sooner got into my tent than it began to rain, and during the night fell with a violence not very much less than that which preceded my arrival at Cawnpoor; a great and providential blessing to this miserable country, the most miserable which I had yet seen in India. All the way from Meerut hither is scattered with ruins, the groves of fruit-trees are few, small, and neglected, the villages very mean, the people looking half-starved, and quite heart-broken, and the cultivation, always, apparently, of the most slovenly kind, now quite interrupted by the long drought. This rain it was hoped would yet save the poor surviving cattle, and keep the wheat from an entire failure. They have had not above three slight showers during the last twelve months! This, of course, will account for the greater part of their present distress, but I have been sorry to think

that the English taxes are really exorbitant here, and the mode of collection short-sighted and oppressive. Certainly the people are more inferior, in apparent comfort, to those of Rohilcund, Bahar, and even Oude, than a long drought will of itself account for.

*December 29.*—The morning was clear and pleasant, and the air and soil delightfully refreshed by the rain. I rode Câbul, and arrived by about eight o'clock on the banks of the Jumna, on the other side of which I had a noble view of Delhi, which is a larger and finer city than I expected to see. The inhabited part of it, for the ruins extend over a surface as large as London, Westminster, and Southwark, is about seven miles in circuit, seated on a rocky range of hills, and surrounded by an embattled wall, which the English Government have put into repair, and are now engaged in strengthening with bastions, a moat, and a regular glacis. The houses within are many of them large and high. There are a great number of mosques, with high minarets and gilded domes, and above all are seen the palace, a very high and extensive cluster of gothic towers and battlements, and the Jumna Musjeed, the largest and handsomest place of Mussulman worship in India. The chief material of all these fine buildings is red granite, of a very agreeable though solemn colour, inlaid in some of the ornamental parts with white marble, and the general style of building is of a simple and impressive character, which reminded me, in many respects, of Carnarvon. It far exceeds any thing at Moscow.



The Jumna, like the other great rivers of this country, overflows, during the rains, a wide extent, but, unlike the Ganges, does not confer fertility. In this part of its course, it is so strongly impregnated with natron, extensive beds of which abound in all the neighbourhood, that its waters destroy, instead of promoting vegetation, and the whole space between the high banks and the river, in its present low state, is a loose and perfectly barren sand like that of the sea-shore. I found the ferry-boat in readiness, and was received on the other side by Mr. Elliot, who had come to meet me with an elephant and a very numerous suwarree of spears and matchlocks. We went together towards the city, over a similar bed of arid sand with that which I had just passed, forded a smaller branch of the Jumna, which runs close under the walls, and, leaving the palace to our left, went along a tolerably wide street to the Residency, which is a large straggling building, consisting of two or three entertaining rooms added by Sir David Ochterlony, when Resident, to an old Mussulman palace. Lushington, whom I found just arrived, had his bed-room in this palace, a very singular and interesting little room, with a vaulted roof, richly ornamented with mosaic painting. Behind is a large garden, laid out in the usual formal Eastern manner, but with some good trees and straight walks, and the whole has more the appearance of a college than any thing else.

Mr. Williams, one of Mr. Elliott's secretaries, is an enterprising traveller, who has penetrated, be-

yond the snowy mountains, several days' journey into Ladak, and even beyond the Chinese frontier. He shewed me several drawings of the people of these countries, who seem, in most respects of religion, dress, and countenance, to resemble my old friends the Calmuks. They carry on a tolerably regular intercourse with Russia, and sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the Imperial Eagle, were among the presents which the King of Ladak sent down, when he offered his allegiance to the British Government. Their written character, however, to my surprise, I found different from the Mongolian; to my surprise I found it so, and to my disappointment too, for I had counted on the New Testaments printed by the Russian Bible Society, for the use of the Calmuk tribes, being legible by these mountaineers. However the project of doing them good need not be abandoned, though its execution may be more tedious than I anticipated.

Soon after my arrival in Delhi the rain returned with still greater violence, and continued all that day and night to the great joy of the people, some of whom told Mrs. Elliott, in the usual style of Eastern notions, that "the Lord Sahib's coming was a happy thing for Delhi, since now they should have bread to eat." I found, indeed, that the servants had by no means forgotten the rain which preceded my arrival at Cawnpoor, and that they had taken care to publish here how very lucky, or "mobarak" a person I was, an opinion in which I believe they themselves are now quite confirmed.

*December 30.*—This morning Lushington and I rode to the tomb of the Emperor Humaioon, six miles from the city, S. W. We passed, in our way to the Agra gate, along a very broad but irregular street, with a channel of water, cased with stone, conducted along its middle. This is a part of the celebrated aqueduct constructed, in the first instance, by Ali Merdan Khân, a Persian nobleman, in the service of the Emperor Shahjehan, then long neglected during the troubles of India, and the decay of the Mogul power, and within these few years repaired by the English Government. It is conducted from the Jumna, immediately on leaving its mountains, and while its stream is yet pure and wholesome, for a distance of about 120 miles; and is a noble work, giving fertility to a very large extent of country near its banks, and absolutely the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, besides furnishing its inhabitants with almost the only drinkable water within their reach. When it was first re-opened, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1820, the whole population of the city went out in jubilee to meet its stream, throwing flowers, ghee, &c. into the water, and calling down all manner of blessings on the British Government, who have indeed gone far, by this measure, to redeem themselves from the weight of, I fear, a good deal of impolicy.

It most unfortunately happened that, during the present year, and amid all the other misfortunes of drought and scarcity which this poor country has undergone, the Jumna changed its course, and

the canal became dry ! The engineer officer who superintends its works, was at the time labouring under the remains of a jungle fever ; his serjeant was in the same condition, and consequently there was no one who, when the mischief was discovered, could go up to the hills to remedy it. The suffering of the people was very dismal ; since the restoration of the canal, they had neglected the wells which formerly had, in some degree, supplied their wants. The water which they drank was to be brought from a distance and sold at a considerable rate, and their gardens were quite ruined. That of the Residency had not, at the moment when I saw it, a green thing in it, and those of the poor were in a yet worse condition, if worse were possible. It was not till the middle of November that the canal could be again restored, when it was hailed with similar expressions of joy to those which had greeted its former re-appearance.

Half-way along the street which I have been describing, and nearly opposite another great street with a similar branch of the canal, which runs at right angles to the former, stands the imperial palace, built by the emperor Shah Jehan, surrounded on this side by a wall of, I should think, sixty feet high, embattled and machicollated, with small round towers and two noble gateways, each defended by an outer barbican of the same construction, though of less height. The whole is of red granite, and surrounded by a wide moat. It is a place of no strength, the walls being only calculated for bows and arrows or musquetry, but as a kingly residence

it is one of the noblest that I have seen. It far surpasses the Kremlin, but I do not think that, except in the durability of its materials, it equals Windsor.

Sentries in red coats, (Sepoys of the Company's regular army,) appear at its exterior, but the internal duties, and, indeed, most of the police duties of Delhi, are performed by the two provincial battalions raised in the Emperor's name, and nominally under his orders. These are disciplined pretty much like Europeans, but have matchlock guns and the Oriental dress, and their commanding officer, Captain Grant of the Company's service, is considered as one of the domestics of the Mogul, and has apartments in the palace.

From the gate of Agra to Humaióon's tomb is a very awful scene of desolation, ruins after ruins, tombs after tombs, fragments of brick-work, free-stone, granite, and marble, scattered every where over a soil naturally rocky and barren, without cultivation, except in one or two small spots, and without a single tree. I was reminded of Caffa in the Crimea, but this was Caffa on the scale of London, with the wretched fragments of a magnificence such as London itself cannot boast. The ruins really extended as far as the eye could reach, and our track wound among them all the way. This was the seat of old Delhi, as founded by the Patan kings, on the ruins of the still larger Hindoo city of Indraput, which lay chiefly in a western direction. When the present city, which is certainly in a more advantageous situation, was founded by the

Emperor Shah Jehan, he removed many of its inhabitants thither ; most of the rest followed, to be near the palace and the principal markets; and as during the Maharatta government there was no sleeping in a safe skin without the walls, old Delhi was soon entirely abandoned. The official name of the present city is Shahjehan-poor, " city of the king of the world !" but the name of Delhi is always used in conversation and in every writing but those which are immediately offered to the Emperor's eye.

In our way, one mass of ruins larger than the rest, was pointed out to us as the old Patan palace. It has been a large and solid fortress, in a plain and unornamented style of architecture, and would have been picturesque had it been in a country where trees grow, and ivy was green, but is here only ugly and melancholy. It is chiefly remarkable for a high black pillar of cast metal, called Firoze's walking-stick. This was originally a Hindoo work, the emblem, I apprehend, of Siva, which stood in a temple on the same spot, and concerning which there was a tradition, like that attached to the coronation stone of the Scots, that while it stood the children of Brahma were to rule in Indraput. On the conquest of the country by the Mussulmans the vanity of the prediction was shewn, and Firoze enclosed it within the court of his palace, as a trophy of the victory of Islam over idolatry. It is covered with inscriptions, mostly Persian and Arabic, but that which is evidently the original, and, probably, contains the prophecy, is in a character

now obsolete and unknown, though apparently akin to the Nagree.

About a mile and a half further, still through ruins, is Humaioon's tomb, a noble building of granite inlaid with marble, and in a very chaste and simple style of Gothic architecture. It is surrounded by a large garden with terraces and fountains, all now gone to decay except one of the latter, which enables the poor people who live in the out-buildings of the tomb to cultivate a little wheat. The garden itself is surrounded by an embattled wall, with towers, four gateways, and a cloister within all the way round. In the centre of the square is a platform of about twenty feet high, and *I should apprehend 200 feet square*, supported also by cloisters, and ascended by four great flights of granite steps. Above rises the tomb, also a square, with a great dome of white marble in its centre. The apartments within are a circular room, about as big as the Ratcliffe library, in the centre of which lies, under a small raised slab, the unfortunate prince to whose memory this fine building is raised. In the angles are smaller apartments, where other branches of his family are interred. From the top of the building I was surprised to see that we had still ruins on every side; and that, more particularly, to the westward and where old Indraput stood, the desolation apparently extended to a range of barren hills seven or eight miles off.

On coming down we were conducted about a mile westward to a burying-ground, or collection of tombs and small mosques, some of them very

beautiful, among which the most remarkable was a little chapel in honour of a celebrated Mussulman saint, Nizam-ud-deen. Round his shrine most of the deceased members of the present imperial family lie buried, each in its own little enclosure, surrounded by very elegant lattice-work of white marble. Workmen were employed at this time in completing the tomb of the late prince Jehanguire, third and darling son of the Emperor, who died lately at Allahabad, whither he had been banished by the British Government for his violent character, (that of a thoroughly spoilt-child) and his culpable intrigues against his eldest brother. The father is said to have been convinced at length of the necessity of this measure, but the old Empress has never forgiven it, and now cannot be persuaded but that her darling boy, who died of drinking and all manner of vice, was poisoned by the English. The few remaining resources of the house of Timour are drawn on to do honour to his remains, and the tomb, though small, will certainly be very elegant. The flowers, &c. into which the marble is carved, are as delicate and in as good taste and execution as any of the ordinary Italian artists could produce. Another tomb which interested me very much, was that of Jehanara, daughter of Shahjehan. It has no size or importance, but she was one of the few amiable characters which the family of Timour can shew. In the prime of youth and beauty, when her father was dethroned, imprisoned, and, I believe, blinded, by his wicked son Aurungzebe, she applied for leave to share his cap-



tivity, and continued to wait on him as a nurse and servant till the day of his death. Afterwards she was a bountiful benefactress to the poor and to religious men, and died with the reputation of a saint, better deserved than by many who have borne the name.

In one part of these ruins is a very deep tank, surrounded by buildings sixty or seventy feet above the surface of the water, from the top of which several boys and young men jumped down and swam to the steps, in order to obtain a trifling bukshish. It was a formidable sight to a stranger, but they seemed to feel no inconvenience except from cold, and were very thankful for a couple of rupees to be divided among their number.

After breakfast we went with Mr. and Mrs. Elliott to see a shawl manufactory carried on by Cashmerian weavers with wool brought from Himalaya, in the house of a wealthy Hindoo merchant, named Soobin-chund. The house itself was very pretty and well worth seeing as a specimen of eastern domestic architecture, comprising three small courts surrounded by stone cloisters, two of them planted with flowering shrubs and orange-trees, and the third ornamented with a beautiful marble fountain. I did not think the shawls which were shewn very beautiful, and the prices of all were high. I was more struck with the specimens of jewellery which they produced, which I thought very splendid, and some of the smaller trinkets in good taste. I was persecuted to accept a splendid nuzzur of shawls, &c. to the value, perhaps, of 1000

s. rupees, which of course I did not choose to take. My pleading my religious profession did not satisfy my Hindoo host, who said that I might at least give it to my "Zennanah;" luckily Mr. Elliot suggested to me to say that I accepted it with gratitude, but that I was a traveller and begged him to keep it for me; to which I added, that "what was in the house of my friend I considered as in my own." He quite understood this, and bowed very low, being, I believe, well pleased to get his compliment over at so easy a rate. The son, however, a lad who spoke a very little English, followed me to the door with a Turkoman horse, which he begged me to accept as his nuzzur. The horse was a pretty one, but not very valueable. I, however, got rid of the matter as well as I could, by saying, that spirited horses were fittest for the young: that I accepted it cheerfully, but begged, as I had no other proper return to make, that he would do me the favour to take it back again!" He smiled and bowed, and we parted. In the narrow street where the house of Soobin-chund stands, we passed a little cluster of Cashmerian women, the wives, I suppose, of his workmen, distinguishable by their large and tall figures in comparison with the Hindoostanees, their fair complexions, and their peculiar head-dress, which consisted of a large roll of turban under the usual veil, the whole appearance more like the famous pictures of the Babylonian sybil than any thing which I recollect.

We afterwards went to the Jumna Musjeed, and the Kala Musjeed. The former is elevated very ad-

vantageously on a small rocky eminence, to full the height of the surrounding houses. In front it has a large square court surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, and commanding a view of the whole city, which is entered by three gates with a fine flight of steps to each. In the centre is a great marble reservoir of water, with some small fountains, supplied by machinery from the canal. The whole court is paved with granite inlaid with marble. On its west side, and rising up another flight of steps, is the mosque itself, which is entered by three noble gothic arches, surmounted by three domes of white marble. It has at each end a very tall minaret. The ornaments are less florid, and the building less picturesque, than the splendid groupe of the Imambara and its accompaniments at Lucknow; but the situation is far more commanding, and the size, the solidity, and rich materials of this building, impressed me more than any thing of the sort which I have seen in India. It is in excellent repair, the British Government having made a grant for this purpose, a measure which was very popular in Delhi.

The Kala Musjeed is small, and has nothing worthy notice about it but its plainness, solidity, and great antiquity, being a work of the first Patan conquerors, and belonging to the times of primitive Mussulman simplicity. It is exactly on the plan of the original Arabian mosques, a square court, surrounded by a cloister, and roofed with many small domes of the plainest and most solid construction, like the rudest specimens of what we call the early

Norman architecture. It has no minaret; the crier stands on the roof to proclaim the hour of prayer. Thus ended our first day's sight-seeing in Delhi.

The 31st *December* was fixed for my presentation to the Emperor, which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went, accompanied by Mr. Elliot, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow, except that we were on elephants instead of in palanquins, and that the procession was, perhaps, less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw. It consists, not merely of a splendid gothic arch in the centre of the great gate-tower,—but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that of a gothic cathedral, with a small, open, octagonal court in its centre, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliot also carried. We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during which we were

pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, "Lo, the ornament of the world! Lo, the asylum of the nations! King of Kings! The Emperor Acbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" We saw, in fact, a very handsome and striking court, about as big as that at All Souls, with low, but richly-ornamented buildings. Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavillion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliott here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr. Elliott then stepped forwards, and, with joined hands, in the usual eastern way, announced, in a low voice, to the Emperor, who I was. I then advanced, bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fifty-one gold mohurs in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practised by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received

and laid on one side, and I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual court questions about my health, my travels, when I left Calcutta, &c. were asked. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and a long white beard. His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valueable-looking rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for the morning being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls, that he reminded me extremely of the Druid's head on a Welch halfpenny. I then stepped back to my former place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offering to the heir apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being occupied by the Resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the Emperor did not speak to them.

The Emperor then beckoned to me to come forwards, and Mr. Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained on my head, on which the Emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the "Khelâts" (honorary dresses) which the bounty of "the Asylum of the World" had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a small private room, adjoining the Zennanah, where I found a handsome flowered

caftan edged with fur, and a pair of common-looking shawls, which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock remaining as before. In this strange dress I had to walk back again, having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as "Bahadur, Boozoony, Dowlut-mund," &c. to the presence, where I found my two companions who had not been honoured by a private dressing-room, but had their Khelâts put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scarfs of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribbands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the Emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindoostanee Common Prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck, and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was, lastly, announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking my leave with three times three salams, making up, I think, the sum of about threescore, and I retired with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to

her Majesty the *Queen*, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the Emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their bukshish. It must not, however, be supposed that this interchange of civilities was very expensive either to his Majesty or to me. All the presents which he gave, the horse included, though really the handsomest which had been seen at the court of Delhi for many years, and though the old gentleman evidently intended to be extremely civil, were not worth much more than 300 s. rupees, so that he and his family gained at least 800 s. rupees by the morning's work, besides what he received from my two companions, which was all clear gain, since the *Khelâts* which they got in return were only fit for May-day, and made up, I fancy, from the cast-off finery of the Begum. On the other hand, since the Company have wisely ordered that all the presents given by native Princes to Europeans should be disposed of on the Government account, they have liberally, at the same time, taken on themselves the expence of paying the usual money *nuzurs* made by public men on these occasions. In consequence none of my offerings were at my own charge, except the professional and private one of the two books, with which, as they were unexpected, the Emperor, as I was told, was very much pleased. I had, of course, several bukshishes to give afterwards to his servants, but these fell considerably short of my expences at Lucknow. To



return to the hall of audience. While in the small apartment where I got rid of my shining garments, I was struck with its beautiful ornaments. It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, lapis lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labour of an artist of that country. All, however, was dirty, desolate, and forlorn. Half the flowers and leaves had been picked out or otherwise defaced, and the doors and windows were in a state of dilapidation, while a quantity of old furniture was piled in one corner, and a torn hanging of faded tapestry hung over an archway which led to the interior apartments. "Such," Mr. Elliott said, "is the general style in which this palace is kept up and furnished. It is not absolute poverty which produces this, but these people have no idea of cleaning or mending any thing." For my own part I thought of the famous Persian line,

"The spider hangs her tapestry in the palace of the Cæsars ;"

and felt a melancholy interest in comparing the present state of this poor family with what it was 200 years ago, when Bernier visited Delhi, or as we read its palace described in the tale of *Madame de Genlis*.

After putting on my usual dress, we waited a little, till word was brought us that the "King of Kings," "Shah-in-Shah," had retired to his *Zen-nanah*; we then went to the hall of audience,

which I had previously seen but imperfectly, from the crowd of people and the necessity of attending to the forms which I had to go through. It is a very beautiful pavilion of white marble, open on one side to the court of the palace, and on the other to a large garden. Its pillars and arches are exquisitely carved and ornamented with gilt and inlaid flowers, and inscriptions in the most elaborate Persian character. Round the frieze is the motto, recorded, I believe, in Lalla Rookh,

“ If there be an Elysium on earth,  
It is this, it is this !”

The marble floor, where not covered by carpets, is all inlaid in the same beautiful manner with the little dressing-room, which I had quitted.

The gardens, which we next visited, are not large, but, in their way, must have been extremely rich and beautiful. They are full of very old orange and other fruit trees, with terraces and parterres, on which many rose-bushes were growing, and, even now, a few jonquils in flower. A channel of white marble for water, with little fountain-pipes of the same material, carved like roses, is carried here and there among these parterres, and at the end of the terrace is a beautiful octagonal pavilion, also of marble, lined with the same Mosaic flowers, as in the room which I first saw, with a marble fountain in its centre, and a beautiful bath in a recess on one of its sides. The windows of this pavilion, which is raised to the height of the city wall, command a good view of Delhi and its neighbourhood.

But all was, when we saw it, dirty, lonely, and wretched: the bath and fountain dry: the inlaid pavement hid with lumber and gardener's sweepings, and the walls stained with the dung of birds and bats.

We were then taken to the private mosque of the palace, an elegant little building, also of white marble and exquisitely carved, but in the same state of neglect and dilapidation, with peepuls allowed to spring from its walls, the exterior gilding partially torn from its dome, and some of its doors coarsely blocked up with unplastered brick and mortar.

We went last to the "Dewanee aüm," or hall of public audience, which is in the outer court, and where on certain occasions the Great Mogul sate in state, to receive the compliments or petitions of his subjects. This also is a splendid pavilion of marble, not unlike the other hall of audience in form, but considerably larger and open on three sides only; on the fourth is a black wall, covered with the same Mosaic work of flowers and leaves as I have described, and in the centre a throne raised about ten feet from the ground, with a small platform of marble in front, where the vizier used to stand to hand up petitions to his master. Behind this throne are Mosaic paintings of birds, animals, and flowers, and in the centre, what decides the point of their being the work of Italian, or at least European artists, a small groupe of Orpheus playing to the beasts. This hall, when we saw it, was full of lumber of all descriptions, broken palan-

quins and empty boxes, and the throne so covered with pigeons' dung, that its ornaments were hardly discernible. How little did Shahjehan, the founder of these fine buildings, foresee what would be the fate of his descendants, or what his own would be! "Vanity of vanities!" was surely never written in more legible characters than on the dilapidated arcades of Delhi!

After breakfast I had a numerous attendance of persons who either wished to be confirmed themselves, or to have my explanation of the nature and authority of the ceremony. In the afternoon I went with Mr. and Mrs. Elliott to drive round a part of the city. Its principal streets are really wide, handsome, and, for an Asiatic city, remarkably cleanly, and the shops in the bazars have a good appearance. The chief street down which we drove, is called the "chandnee chokee," or silversmiths' street, but I did not see any great number of that trade resident there. It is about as wide as Pall-Mall, and has a branch of the aqueduct running along its centre. Half way down its length is a pretty little mosque with three gilt domes, on the porch of which, it is said, Nader Shah sat from morning to evening to see the work of massacre which his army inflicted on the wretched citizens. A gate leading to a bazar near it retains the name of "coonia durwazu," slaughter-gate! The chandnee chokee conducted us to the gate of Lahore, and we went along the exterior of the town to the gate of Cashmere, by which we returned to the Residency. The city wall is lofty

and handsome, but, except ruins and sun-burnt rocks, there is nothing to be seen without the ramparts of Delhi. The Shelimar gardens, extolled in Lalla Rookh, are completely gone to decay. Yet I am assured by every body that the appearance of things in the province of Delhi is greatly improved since it came into our hands! To what a state must the Maharattas have reduced it!

*January 1.*—We went to see Koottab-sahib, a small town about twelve miles south-west of Delhi, remarkable for its ruins, and, among the Mussulmans, for its sanctity. It was the scene of very hard fighting between the Hindoo sovereigns of Indraput and the original Patan invaders, and the Mussulmans say that 5000 martyrs to their religion lie interred in the neighbourhood. Its principal sanctity, however, arises from the tomb of a very celebrated saint, Cutteeb Sahib, in whose honour the buildings for which it is now remarkable were begun but never quite completed by Shu isedl, the third, I think, in succession of the Pata sovereigns. The Emperor has a house there, and it is a favourite retreat of his during fine weather.

We went out at the Agra gate, and rode through the same dismal field of tombs as we had formerly traversed, escorted by three of Skinner's horse. Before we had cleared the ruins, another body of fifteen or twenty wild-looking horse, some with long spears, some with matchlocks and matches lighted, galloped up from behind a large tomb, and their leader, dropping the point of his lance, said,

that he was sent by the Raja of Bullumghur, "the fort of spears," to conduct me through his district. We had no need of this further escort, but, as it was civilly intended, I of course took it civilly, and we went on together to a beautiful mausoleum, about five miles further, raised in honour of Sufter Jung, an ancestor of the king of Oude, who still keeps up his tomb and the garden round it in good repair. We did not stop here, however, but proceeded on elephants, which Mr. Elliott had stationed for us, leaving our horses under the care of the Bullumghur suwarra, of whom and their Raja we were afterwards to see a good deal. Our route lay over a country still rocky and barren, and still sprinkled with tombs and ruins, till on ascending a little eminence, we saw one of the most extensive and striking scenes of ruin which I have met with in any country. A very tolerable account of it is given in Hamilton's India, and I will only observe that the Cuttab Minar, the object of principal attraction, is really the finest tower I have ever seen, and must, when its spire was complete, have been still more beautiful. The remaining great arches of the principal mosque, with their granite pillars, covered with inscriptions in the florid Cufic character, are as fine, in their way, as any of the details of York Minster. In front of the principal of these great arches is a metal pillar like that in Firoze Shah's castle, and several other remains of a Hindoo palace and temple, more ancient than the foundation of the Koottab, and which I should have thought striking, if they had not been in such a

neighbourhood. A multitude of ruined mosques, tombs, serais, &c. are packed close round, mostly in the Patan style of architecture, and some of them very fine. One, more particularly, on a hill, and surrounded by a wall with battlements and towers, struck me as peculiarly suited, by its solid and simple architecture, to its blended character, in itself very appropriate to the religion of Islam, of fortress, tomb, and temple. These Patans built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. Yet the ornaments, florid as they are in their proper places, are never thrown away, or allowed to interfere with the general severe and solemn character of their edifices. The palace of the present imperial family is at some little distance behind these remains. It is a large but paltry building, in a bad style of Italian architecture, and with a public road actually leading through its court-yard. A little beyond and amid some other small houses, near a very fine tank, we alighted at rather a pretty little building belonging to Bukshi Mahmoud Khân, the treasurer of the palace, where a room and a good breakfast were prepared for us.

After breakfast, the day being cool and rather cloudy, we went to see the ruins, and remained clambering about and drawing till near two o'clock. The staircase within the great Minar is very good, except the uppermost story of all, which is ruinous and difficult of access. I went up, however, and was rewarded by the very extensive view, from a height of 240 feet, of Delhi, the course of the Jumna for many miles, and the ruins of Toghlika-

bad, another giantly Patan foundation, which lay to the south-west.

We returned in the evening to Delhi, stopping by the way to see Sutter Jung's tomb. It is very richly inlaid with different kinds of marble, but has too much of the colour of potted meat to please me, particularly after seeing buildings like those of Koottab-sahib. We were received here, to my surprise, by the son of Baboo Sobin-chund, who is, it seems, the agent of the King of Oude in Delhi, and consequently has the keeping of this place entrusted to him. He had actually brought a second and finer horse for my acceptance; and I had great difficulty in convincing him of two things; first that I had no power to render him any service which could call for such presents; and, secondly, that my declining his presents was not likely to diminish my good-will towards him, supposing me to have such power. I succeeded at last, however, in silencing, if not convincing him, and we returned to the Residency, passing in our way by the Observatory, a pile of buildings much resembling those at Benares, and built by the same person, Jye Singh, Raja and founder of Jyepoor in Rajpootana.

At Mr. Elliott's we found his son, and the two Mr. Fishers, come to pass another Sunday with me. I also found two presents awaiting my acceptance; the one from the old Begum consisted of a garland of withered jonquils, intermixed with tinsel, which was, I believe, supposed to pass for pearls, for after putting the said wreath round my



neck, the chobdars who brought it hailed me with an acclamation of "Ue Motee-wala!" "O, thou pearly person!" I however had, of course, to receive the gift with many thanks, as a favour from the hand of a princess. The other present, from the King, was more useful to a traveller, consisting of a buck, with his best wishes for my journey. The common deer of this neighbourhood are, indeed, by no means good, and may be had for a rupee apiece; but this had had some little feeding bestowed on it, and we found it by no means bad eating in our march.

Of the present situation and character of this sovereign and his family, I had abundant opportunity of acquiring a knowledge; and I am glad to find that, with some exceptions, the conduct of our countrymen to the house of Timour has been honourable and kind. My dear wife is probably aware that the first direct connexion between the English and the Emperor of Delhi, began under Lord Clive's government, when Shah Aulum, father of the present Acbar Shah, voluntarily, and without any stipulations, threw himself under our protection, as the only means of securing his personal liberty from the dissensions of his own subjects and the violence of the Maharattas. He was received and treated in all respects as a sovereign; had a residence assigned to him, with a very large revenue of twenty-six lacs a year; and this was, in fact, the only part of his life which can be regarded as splendid or prosperous. In his anxiety to return to Delhi, however, he, after some years, forfeited

all these advantages, and threw himself into the power of the Maharattas, who, about a twelve-month before, had gained possession of that city, and who were our inveterate enemies. By these new friends he was made prisoner; and Ghoolam Khadir, the Rohilla, who a few years after captured Delhi, put out his eyes, threw him into a dungeon, and murdered all the members of his family who could be found. His own life would probably have soon sunk under his misery, had not Ghoolam Khadir been defeated and put to death by Sindia, (assisted by French officers and troops,) who now, in his turn, obtained possession of his person. His condition was, however, very little improved. He was, indeed, suffered to live in his palace, and his surviving family re-assembled round him; but he and they were treated with exceeding neglect, and literally almost starved, by the avarice of Sindia and the rapacity of the French. It was during this period that most of the marble and inlaid ornaments of the palace were mutilated, since they were actually sold to buy bread for himself and his children.

In this miserable state he was found by Lord Lake, who restored him to the sort of decent dependance which his son now enjoys; addressing him on all public occasions in the style of a sovereign,—acknowledging the English government his “*fidoi*,” or feudatory,—and placing him, in fact, in every respect but revenue, where Lord Clive had placed him before. His revenue was fixed at ten lacs a year, which was afterwards increased to

twelve, and by Lord Hastings to fifteen, a large sum, but which is said to be, either through mismanagement, or, as is greatly apprehended, the rapacity of the old Queen, who is busy in making a purse for herself, barely sufficient for the wants of his very numerous family. By Lord Lake, Mr. Seton, and Sir David Ochterlony, he and his son, the present Emperor, were treated with all the outward respect which even in their best days his ancestors had received from their subjects. Sir C. Metcalf, however, intrenched in many respects on these little outward marks of attention and deference, which soothed the poor old man in his inevitable dependance; and Acbar, the present Emperor, is also said to have been deeply wounded by the demand of Lord Hastings to sit in his presence. He felt still more the insult of setting up his Vizier, the Nawâb of Oude, as King, in opposition to him; and he was hurt by what he supposed to be a continuance of the same conduct on the part of Government, when Sir Edward Paget passed him without a visit. Under these circumstances, I was glad to find that Mr. Elliott paid him every respect, and shewed him every kindness in his power. I was glad, also, that I did not omit to visit him, since, independently of the interest which I have felt in seeing the venerable ruin of a mighty stock, Mr. Elliott says that the Emperor had frequently enquired whether the Bishop also meant to pass him by<sup>1</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> In the course of his late progress through the upper provinces, Lord Amherst paid the Emperor a visit, he was received by him in

Acbar Shah has the appearance of a man of seventy-four or seventy-five; he is, however, not much turned of sixty-three, but, in this country, that is a great age. He is said to be a very good-tempered, mild, old man, of moderate talents, but polished and pleasing manners. His favourite wife, the Begum, is a low-born, low-bred, and violent woman, who rules him completely, lays hold on all his money, and has often influenced him to very unwise conduct towards his children, and the British Government. She hates her eldest son, who is, however, a respectable man, of more talents than native princes usually shew, and, happily for himself, has a predilection for those literary pursuits which are almost the only laudable or innocent objects of ambition in his power. He is fond of poetry, and is himself a very tolerable Persian poet. He has taken some pains in the education of his children, and, what in this country is very unusual, even of his daughters. He too, however, though not more than thirty-five, is prematurely old, arising partly from the early excesses into which the wretched follies of an Eastern court usually plunge persons in his situation,—and partly from his own subsequent indulgence in strong liquors. His face is bloated and pimped, his eyes weak, and

the hall of audience, which both parties entered at the same moment, and, after an embrace, the Emperor ascended the peacock throne, and the Governor-General sat down in a state chair on his right hand. After an interchange of compliments, and the usual form of presenting attar had been gone through, Lord Amherst took leave, and was conducted by the Emperor to the door of the hall. On a subsequent day the Emperor returned the visit with similar ceremonies.—ED.

his hand tremulous. Yet, for an Eastern prince, as I have already observed, his character is good, and his abilities considered as above the common run.

There are, perhaps, few royal families which have displayed during their power so many vices and so few virtues as the house of Timour. Their power had been gradually declining ever since the time of Aurungzebe, and at present, Mr. Elliott once observed to me, that he could not perceive the least chance, that, supposing our empire in the east to be at an end, the King of Delhi could for a moment recover any share of authority. He did not even think that the greater princes of India, who would fight for our spoils, would any of them think it worth their while to make use of the Emperor's name as a pageant to sanction their own ambitious views ; and he observed that, all things considered, few captive and dethroned princes had ever experienced so much liberality and courtesy as they had from British hands, and that they could not reasonably hope to gain by any diminution of our influence in India. Yet their present circumstances are surely pitiable, as well as an awful instance of the instability of human greatness. The gigantic genius of Tamerlane, and the distinguished talents of Acbar, throw a sort of splendour over the crimes and follies of his descendants ; and I heartily hope that Government will reverence the ruins of fallen greatness, and that, at least, no fresh degradation is reserved for the poor old man, whose idea was associated in my childhood with all

imaginable wealth and splendour, under the name of "the Great Mogul!"

*January 2.*—This day, being Sunday, I confirmed about twenty persons, and I afterwards preached and administered the Sacrament, Mr. Fisher reading prayers; the congregation was numerous, and there were near forty communicants. In the evening also we had a good congregation. I was persecuted during a great part of the day with people who could not be persuaded that I had no interest with Government, and who, in spite of my reminding them that I knew nothing of them or their character, kept prostrating themselves before me to get recommendatory letters to this judge or that collector. Some of the better sort, such as Soobin-chund, were contented, indeed, with a sort of certificate under my seal, that they had associated with me. These I readily gratified, but this increased the clamours of the rest, till I was obliged to order the sentry at the door to turn them all away, and to admit no more natives to me on any pretence whatever. Such were the chief events of my last day in Delhi.

I forgot to mention in its proper place that the ornaments and shawls which I received from the Emperor were valued to me at 284 sicca rupees. The horse was reported to be barely worth thirty rupees, but as I declined redeeming him from the Company's hands, I never saw him.

## CHAPTER XX.

DELHI TO AGRA.

*Ruins of Toghlikabad—Visit to the Raja of Bullumghur—Dancing Girls—Nawāb of Sikre—Hindoo pilgrimage to Bindrabund—Muttra—Sacred Monkey—Death of one revenged—Lepers—Party of Fakirs—Escape of Trimbuk-jee—Tomb of Achar—Public Buildings—Devanny Aum—Tāge-Mahāl—Abdul Musseeh—French in Central India.*

JANUARY 3.—This morning early I sent off my tents and baggage to Furreedabad, a little town about fifteen miles from Delhi, and in the afternoon followed them on horseback, escorted by five of Skinner's horse, and accompanied by Mr. Lushington and Dr. Smith. We passed by Humaiūn's tomb, and thence through a dreary country full of ruins, along a stoney and broken road marked out at equal distances of about a mile and a half, by solid circular stone obelisks, "coss minars," erected during the prosperous times of the empire of Delhi. Half-way to Furreedabad we passed the gigantic ruins of Toghlikabad, on a hill about a coss to our right. I regretted that we could not see them nearer, but the stage was of sufficient length for our horses and the few remaining hours of day-light without this addition. Mr. Elliott described them as chiefly interesting from their vast dimensions,

and the bulk and weight of the stones employed in them. They were the work of Toghloû Khân, one of the early Patan sovereigns.

Furreedabad offers nothing curious except a large tank with a ruined banqueting-house on its shore ; it has a grove of tamarind and other trees round it, but no mangoes ; few of these, indeed, grow in the province of Delhi, owing to the unusual multitude of white ants, to whose increase the ruins and the dry sandy soil are favourable, and who attack the mangoes in preference to any other tree. The whole country, indeed, is barren and disagreeable, and the water bad. That of the Jumna acts on strangers like the Cheltenham waters, and the wells here are also extremely unpalatable. One might fancy oneself already approaching the confines of Persia and Arabia. Our camp is, however, plentifully supplied with all necessaries and comforts, and a servant of the Raja of Bullumghur brought us some fine oranges, and at the same time told us, that his master would not suffer him to receive either payment or present for any of the supplies furnished, and only hoped that I would call at his house next morning in my way, which I readily promised to do.

The Raja of Bullumghur holds a considerable territory along this frontier as a feudatory of the British Government, on the service of maintaining two thousand men to do the ordinary police duties, and guard the road against the Mewattee and other predatory tribes. The family and most of their people are of the Jât race, and they have for many



generations been linked by friendship and frequent intermarriages with the neighbouring Raja of Bhurtpoor, who is now our friend, but whose gallant and successful defence of his castle against Lord Lake during the Maharatta war, has raised the character of the Jâts, previously a very low caste, to considerable estimation for their valour in all this part of India. The present acting Raja of Bullumghur is only Regent, being guardian to his nephew, a boy now educating at Delhi. I had heard the Regent and his brother described as hospitable and high-spirited men, and was not sorry to have an opportunity of seeing a Hindoo court.

*January 4.*—A little before day-break we set off as usual, through a country something, and but little, more fertile than that we had passed. It improved, however, gradually as we approached Bullumghur, which, by its extensive groves, gave evidence of its having been long the residence of a respectable native family. I was not, however, at all prepared for the splendour with which I was received. First, we saw some of the wild-looking horsemen, whom I have already described, posted as if on the look-out, who, on seeing us, fired their matchlocks and galloped off as fast as possible. As we drew nearer we saw a considerable body of cavalry with several camels and elephants, all gaily caparisoned, drawn up under some trees, and were received by the Raja himself, a fat and overgrown man, and his younger brother, a very handsome and manly figure, the former alighting from a palanquin, the other from a noble Persian horse, with

trappings which swept the ground. I alighted from my horse also and the usual compliments and civilities followed. The elder brother begged me to excuse his riding with me as he was ill, which indeed we had heard before, but the second went by my side, reining in his magnificent steed, and shewing off the animal's paces and his own horsemanship. Before and behind were camels, elephants, and horsemen, with a most strange and barbarous music of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums, and such a wood of spears, that I could not but tell my companion that his castle deserved its name of "Fort of Spears." As we drew nearer, we saw the fort itself, with high brick walls, strengthened with a deep ditch and large mud bastions, from which we were complimented with a regular salute of cannon. Within we found a small and crowded, but not ill-built town, with narrow streets, tall houses, many temples, and a sufficient number of Brahminy bulls to shew the pure Hindoo descent of the ruler. The population of the little capital was almost all assembled in the streets, on the walls, and on the house-tops, and salamed to us as we came in. We passed through two or three sharp turns, and at length stopped at the outer gate of a very neat little palace, built around a small court planted with jonquils and rose-bushes, with a marble fountain in the centre, and a small open arched hall, where chairs were placed for us. Sitringees were laid, by way of carpet, on the floor, and the walls were ornamented with some paltry Hindoo portraits of the family, and some old fresco paint-

ings of gods, goddesses, and heroes encountering lions and tygers.

After we had been here a few minutes a set of dancing-girls entered the room followed by two musicians. I felt a little uneasy at this apparition, but Dr. Smith, to whom I mentioned my apprehensions, assured me that nothing approaching to indecency was to be looked for in the dances or songs which a well-bred Hindoo exhibited to his visitors. I sat still, therefore, while these poor little girls, for they none of them seemed more than fourteen, went through the same monotonous evolutions which I had heard my wife describe, in which there is certainly very little grace or interest, and no perceptible approach to indecency. The chief part of the figure, if it can be called so, seemed to consist in drawing up and letting fall again the loose wide sleeves of their outer garments, so as to show the arm as high as the elbow, or a very little higher, while the arms were waved backwards and forwards in a stiff and constrained manner. Their dresses were rich, but there was such an enormous quantity of scarlet cloth petticoats and trowsers, so many shawls wrapped round their waists, and such multifarious skirts peeping out below each other, that their figures were quite hidden, and the whole effect was that of a number of Dutch dolls, though the faces of two or three out of the number were pretty. Two sung each a Persian and a Hindoostanee song, with very pleasing, though not powerful voices, after which, as the demands both of curiosity and civility were satis-

fied, I gave them a gratuity, as I understood was usual on such occasions, as a token of their dismissal.

After this, some cake and Persian grapes were brought in, and I took leave, having in the civilest and most cordial way I could, declined the usual present of shawls, and accepted one of fruit and sweatmeats. On going away, I told the Raja's Jemautdar to come to the camp in the evening, and he and his fellow-servants should have the usual bukshish, but he answered that neither he nor any of the Raja's people, except the dancing-girls, to whom it was an usual token of approbation, dared accept any thing of the kind, the first instance which I had met with of a Hindoo refusing money. Soon after I had taken leave, and while we were still escorted by the Bullumghur cavalry, a message came from the Raja to say that he had heard of my intended liberality to his people, but that it was his particular request that I would give nothing either to his servants or to the suwarrs, whom he intended, with my leave, to send on with me as far as Muttra. Surely this is what in England would be called high and gentlemanly feeling.

On our approach to Sikre, where the tents were pitched, I found we had entered another little feudal territory, being received by about twenty horsemen, with a splendid old warrior at their head, who announced himself as the Jaghiredar of the place, and holding a little barony, as it would be called in Europe, under the Company, intermixed with the larger territories of Bullumghur.

Cassim Ali Khân, the Nawâb of Sikre, who thus introduced himself, was a figure which Wouwerman or Rubens would have delighted to paint, a tall, large, elderly man, with a fine countenance, and a thick and curly, but not long grey beard, on a large and powerful white Persian horse, with a brocade turban, a saddle-cloth of tyger's skin with golden tassels which almost swept the ground, sword, shield, and pistols mounted with silver, and all the other picturesque insignia of a Mussulman cavalier of distinction. He said that he had been a Tussildar in command of two hundred horse in Lord Lake's war, and had been recompensed at the end of the contest with a little territory of ten villages, rent and tax free. The Raja, he said, who had two hundred and fifty villages, nearly enclosed him, but they were good friends. The Raja, certainly, though his brother is a fine young man, had nothing in his whole cavalcade to equal the old Nawâb's figure, which was perfect as a picture, from his bare muscular neck and his crisp grey mustachios, down to his yellow boots and the strong brown hand, with an emerald ring on it, the least turn of which on his silver bridle seemed to have complete mastery over his horse, without too much repressing its spirit. He afterwards shewed me his certificates of service from Lord Lake and others, and it appeared that his character in all respects had corresponded with his manly and intelligent appearance.

At Sikre I found a letter from Mr. Cavendish collector and magistrate of this district, saying that

he was encamped in the neighbourhood, and intended to call on me next morning at our next station, at Brahminy Kerar.

*January 5.*—The country between Sikre and Brahminy Kerar is uninteresting enough, though rather more fertile than in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Half-way, near a village named Pulwul, we passed Mr. Cavendish's encampment, and were met by an escort of his suwarrrs. I had long since had my eyes pretty well accustomed to the sight of shields and spears, but I have not failed to observe that, along this frontier, which has not been till of late in a settled or peaceable state, and where hard blows are still of no unfrequent occurrence, even the police troopers sit their horses better, and have a more martial air by far, than persons in the same situation in the Dooab or even in Rohilcund. I begin, indeed, to think better of the system on which the province of Delhi has been governed since its conquest, from all which I hear of its former state. This neighbourhood, for instance, is still but badly cultivated, but fifteen years ago it was as wild, I am assured, as the Terrai, as full of tygers, and with no human inhabitants but banditti. Cattle-stealing still prevails to a great extent, but the Mewattees are now most of them subject either to the British Government or that of Bhurtpoor, and the security of life and property afforded them by the former, has induced many of the tribes to abandon their fortresses, to seat themselves in the plain, and cultivate the ground like honest men and good subjects, while the tranquillity of the

border, and the force maintained along it, prevents the Bhurtpoor marauders from renewing their depredations so often as they used to do. Highway robberies also sometimes occur, generally attended with murder ; but, on the whole, the amendment has been great, and an European, under ordinary circumstances, may pass in safety through any part of the district. The lands are not now highly assessed, and Government has liberally given up half the year's rent in consideration of the drought. Still, however, something more is wanting, and every public man in these provinces appears to wish that a settlement for fourteen or even twenty years could be brought about, in order to give the Zemindars an interest in the soil and an inducement to make improvements.

At Brahminy Kerar are a few ruins, but nothing worthy particular notice. The coss-minars still make their appearance, but at very uncertain distances, great numbers having been destroyed or gone to decay. Indeed the road does not always follow its ancient line.

*January 6.*—We went on eight coss to Moral. The country along the road-side is jungly, but cultivation seems rapidly gaining on it. The road-side is, in India, always the part last cultivated, the natives being exposed to many injuries and oppressions from Sepoys and travellers. I was told that for every bundle of grass or faggots which the Thannadar, or other public officer, brought to my camp, he demanded as much more from the poor peasants, which he appropriated to his own use ;

and that, even if I paid for what I got, it required much attention, and some knowledge of the language, to be sure that the money was not intercepted in its way to the right owner. But the common practice of the Thannadar was, to charge nothing for what was furnished to the traveller, both from wishing to make a compliment to the latter, (which costs him nothing,) and also to take, without the means of detection, his own share of the plunder. The best way is to insist on a written bill, and request the collector afterwards to enquire of the Ryuts whether the money had been paid.

At Horal is a very pretty native house now uninhabited, but used as a court of justice, with a fine tank near it, both the work of a former Hindoo Jemautdar, in memory of whom a small temple is raised in the neighbourhood. Within I saw the representation of four human feet, one pair larger than the other, on a little altar against the wall, and was told that it was the customary way of commemorating that the favourite wife had burnt herself with her husband. This horrible custom, I am glad to find, is by no means common in this part of India; indeed, I have not yet found it *common* any where except in Bengal, and some parts of Bahar.

*January 7.*—From Horal to Dhotana, in the province of Agra, is seven coss, a wild, but more woody country than we had lately traversed. By woody, as distinct from jungle, I mean that a good many fine trees were seen. At Dhotana I saw the first instance of a custom which I am told I shall



see a good deal of in my southern journey,—a number of women, about a dozen, who came with pitchers on their heads, dancing and singing, to meet me. There is, if I recollect right, an account of this sort of dance in “Kehama.” They all professed to be “Gaopîáree,” or milk-maids, and are in fact, as the Thannadar assured me, the wives and daughters of the Gaowala caste. Their voices and style of singing were by no means unpleasing; they had all the appearance of extreme poverty, and I thought a rupee well bestowed upon them, for which they were very thankful. There are many indications, along all this route, of great distress and poverty arising from the long drought, but less, very far less, than to the north of Delhi; and what is remarkable, there are few professed beggars or Fakirs. Those who have recently asked for charity have been poor women with young children, or men wandering, as they say, in search of work.

We were this day met by some suwarrs from the Judge of Agra, and I therefore dismissed the horse of Bullumghur. To take with me more than enough was only burdening the people, and since I was not to pay them, I apprehended they were not sorry to receive their dismissal. I sent with them a letter of thanks to the Raja.

*January 8.*—From Dhotana to Jeyt, the next stage, is a long sixteen miles, through a wild country. On our left, at a distance of two or three miles, we passed Bindrabund, a large town on the banks of the Jumna, celebrated among the Hindoos for its sanctity, and the wealth of its pagodas. I was sorry that

I could not visit it, but I believe there was not really much to regret. The buildings are ancient, but all mean; and the peculiarities of the place are, chiefly, its amazing swarms of sacred monkeys, and the no less amazing crowd of filthy and profligate devotees, who crowd round every stranger, not so much asking, as demanding alms. Through all this country, indeed, notwithstanding its vicinity to the capital of Islam in the East, Hindooism, seems to predominate in a degree which I did not expect to find. Few or none of the people have Mussulman names; there are abundant pagodas, and scarcely one mosque, and I have seldom seen any peasantry with so many Brahminical or Rajpoot strings among them. The villages and jungles near them are all full of peacocks, another symptom of Hindooism, since the Mussulmans would soon make havoc among these beautiful but well-tasted birds. Most of the names which I have heard are followed by the affix of "Singh," a lion: this ought to belong to the Rajpoots alone, but at present all the Jâts claim it, as well as the Seiks, who, as having relinquished Hindooism, have no apparent right to any distinction of the kind. I know not whether this may be regarded as additional grounds for the suspicion which I have some time entertained, that the distinction of caste weighs less on men's minds than it used to do.

But though I was easily reconciled to the omission of Bindrabund, all my party were not so, and five Sepoys applied for leave to go there, promising to rejoin me at Muttra, a permission

which I readily gave them. This, however, was followed by a similar request from more than half my little army, with the venerable Soubahdar at their head, besides the goomashta of the camels, and my sirdar-bearer. This was inconvenient, but it was not easily avoided. Some of them were Brahmins, some Rajpoots, some had vows on them, and all were so deeply impressed with the sanctity of Bindrabund, that they were extremely anxious not to pass it by. I gave, therefore, my acquiescence with a good grace, reminding them only that they must rejoin me on Sunday evening, as I meant to make no halt in Muttra.

*January 9, Sunday.*—From Jeyt to Muttra is about four coss, the country still wild, but apparently more fertile than most of what we had lately seen. Half-way are the ruins of a very large and handsome serai. At this place I was met by Colonel Penny, the Commandant of Muttra, with several other officers, who rode with us through the town. Muttra is a large and remarkable city, much revered by the Hindoos for its antiquity and connection with many of their legends, more particularly as the birth-place of their fabulous Krishna, or Apollo. In consequence, it swarms with parquets, peacocks, Brahminy bulls, and monkeys, which last are seen sitting on the tops of the houses, and running along the walls and roofs like cats. They are very troublesome, and admitted to be so by the Hindoos themselves, but so much respected, that, a few years since, two young officers who shot at one near Bindrabund, were driven into the

Jumna, where they perished, by a mob of Brahmins and devotees. In other respects, also, Muttra is a striking town, and a good deal reminded me of Benares, the houses being very high with the same sort of ornaments as in that city. There is a large ruinous castle on the shore of the Jumna, and a magnificent, though dilapidated mosque, with four very tall minarets. In the centre, or nearly so, of the town, Colonel Penny took us into the court of a beautiful temple, or dwelling-house, for it seemed to be designed for both in one, lately built, and not yet quite finished, by Gokul Pattu Singh, Sindia's treasurer, and who has also a principal share in a great native banking-house, one branch of which is fixed at Muttra. The building is enclosed by a small, but richly-carved gateway, with a flight of steps which leads from the street to a square court, cloistered round, and containing in the centre, a building, also square, supported by a triple row of pillars, all which, as well as the ceiling, are richly carved, painted, and gilt. The effect, internally, is much like that of the Egyptian tomb, of which the model was exhibited in London by Belzoni; externally, the carving is very beautiful. The cloisters round were represented to us as the intended habitation of the Brahmins attached to the fane; and in front, towards the street, were to be apartments for the founder in his occasional visits to Muttra.

The cantonments are separated from the rest of the town by a small interval of broken ground covered with ruins. The buildings are very exten-

sive and scattered over a wide plain, but the greater part of them unoccupied, the forces now maintained here not being half so numerous as they used to be before the establishment of Nusseerabad and Neemuch, and the consequent removal of our advanced corps to a great distance westward. Still Muttra is an important station, from the vicinity of many wild and independent, though, at present, friendly Rajas, and from its forming a necessary link between Agra and the northern stations.

We breakfasted with Colonel Penny, who had provided an empty bungalow for Divine service. I had a congregation of about twenty-five persons, six of whom staid for the Sacrament, and I afterwards baptized some children. A miserable leper came soon after to ask alms, who said he had heard of my passing through the country, and had come two days' journey to beg from me. He was quite naked except a very small rag round his waist; his fingers had all nearly rotted off, and his legs and feet were in a wretched condition. I have seen, I think, fewer of these objects in Hindostan than in Bengal, but those I have seen are in every respect most pitiable. In addition to the horrors of the disease itself, the accursed religion of the Hindoos holds them out as objects of heaven's wrath, and, unless they expiate their sins by being buried alive, as doomed in a future life to Padalon! They are consequently deprived of caste, can possess no property, and share far less than most other mendicants in the alms which Hindoo bounty dispenses in general with a tolerably liberal hand.

About two o'clock the Soubahdar and the other pilgrims returned in high spirits, having all bathed and gone through the necessary ceremonies. I completed their happiness for the day by an arrangement which I made, that a guard of honour, which Colonel Penny had assigned me, should stand sentry during my stay in Muttra, so that my escort should have the evening and night to themselves. There was no fear of this permission being abused; they were all tired,—they had eaten their meal,—and the only further thing they desired was to sleep the twelve hours round.

We dined with Colonel Penny and met a numerous party of officers. The chief subjects of conversation were Nusseerabad, whither I was going, and which several of the party had recently left, and the late attack and plunder of Calpee. Of Nusseerabad the most dismal account was given, as a barren plain on the verge of the great salt desert, with very little water, and that little bad, and only one single tree in the whole cantonment. I know not from what singular fatality it has arisen, that almost all the principal establishments of the English in India have been fixed in bad situations. The reason which I have heard given is the unwillingness of government to interfere with the comforts of their subjects, or to turn out people from their farms and villages, which has compelled them to fix on spots previously uninhabited and untilled, which of course, in an anciently-peopled country, have generally been neglected in consequence of some natural disadvantage. But it would be so

easy, at a moderate rate, to recompense any Zemindar or Ryut whom a new cantonment inconvenienced, and the bad effects of an unwholesome, or otherwise ill-situated station, are so great, that this is a reason which, though it was gravely given, I could hardly hear with gravity. The fact, however, is certain ; Secrole, the cantonments at Lucknow, nay, Calcutta itself, are all abominably situated. I have heard the same of Madras ; and now the lately-settled cantonment of Nusseerabad appears to be as objectionable as any of them.

The affair at Calpee has excited great surprise not unmixed with alarm. Many of the party maintained that Sindia was at the bottom of the transaction, and that it was the harbinger of a new war in central India ; but one gentleman, who came lately from Mhow, had no suspicion of the kind ; and though he thought it not unlikely that the marauders in question had been assembled in Sindia's territories, he did not think that the Maharaja was himself inclined to break with us.

*January 10.*—This morning's stage was eight coss, to a small village called Furrah ; it is built in a great measure within the enclosure of what has been, evidently, a very extensive serai, whose walls seem to have been kept up as a defence to the village. They have, however, not been its only defence, since on a little hill immediately above it is a square mud fort, with a round bastion at each flank, and a little outwork before the gate. It is now empty and neglected, but has evidently been in recent use, and might easily be again put into

sufficient repair to answer every purpose for which such a little fortress could be supposed calculated. Most of the villages in this part of Hindostan were anciently provided with a similar fastness, where the peasantry, their families, and cattle, might seek refuge in case of the approach of robbers or enemies. The strength of the British Government, and the internal peace which has flowed from it, have made these precautions, as well as the walls and towers of the greater towns, be almost universally neglected, though the recent misfortune at Calpee appears to prove that such means of defence may yet occasionally have their value.

The people and Tussildar of Furrah were very dilatory in bringing supplies, and the Sepoys were so cold, hungry, and indignant, that I thought there would have been broken heads. The Tussildar at length made his appearance in a hackery hung with red cloth, and drawn by two very fine bullocks, which trotted almost as well as the common horses of the country. He was followed by the usual aids, and matters were reconciled. The peasantry, my servants complained, were not only negligent, but uncivil, and seemed to have heard, probably, an exaggerated statement of the sack of Calpee.

Soon after we had encamped, a numerous party of Fakirs, and other similar vagabonds, like us, as it seemed, on their travels, appeared, and pitched their tents at a little distance. Dr. Smith foretold that we should lose some property by this contiguity, but there was no avoiding it, since neither



in law nor justice, could men in the open field object to others, travelling like themselves, taking up their abode in the same vicinity. In one respect they gave us less trouble than might have been expected, since they did not beg. A party of them, however, came forwards with a musician, and a boy dressed up in adjutant's feathers, with a bill of the same bird fastened to his head, asked leave to shew off some tricks in tumbling and rope-dancing. On my assenting, in less time than I could have supposed possible, four very long bamboos were fixed in the ground, and a slack-rope suspended between them, on which the boy, throwing off his bird's dress, and taking a large balancing-pole in his hand, began to exhibit a series of tricks which proved him to be a funambulist of considerable merit. He was a little and very thin animal, but broad-shouldered and well made, and evidently possessed of no common share of strength as well as of agility and steadiness. Mean time, while he was gambolling above, the musician below, who was an old man, and whose real or assumed name was Hajee Baba, went through all the usual jests and contortions of our English "Mr. Merryman," sometimes affecting great terror at his companion's feats and the consequence of his falling,—sometimes bidding him, "Salam to the Sahib Log," or challenging him to still greater feats of agility and dexterity.

Our road, during great part of this day's journey, had lain by the side of the Jumna, which is here very pretty, a wide and winding stream, with

woody banks, and the fields in the vicinity more fertile and green than any which I have for a long time looked on. We saw a small vessel with masts and sails dropping down the river; but, except during the rains, its navigation is here so tedious and uncertain that few boats ever come up so high.

I heard this morning an account which interested and amused me, of the manner in which the Maharatta chief, Trimbuk-jee, whom I saw a prisoner at Chunar, had effected his escape from the British the first time he was seized by them. He was kept in custody at Tannah, near Bombay; and while there, a common-looking Maharatta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the commanding officer. He was accepted, and had to keep his horse under the window of Trimbuk-jee's prison. Nothing remarkable was observed in his conduct, except a more than usual attention to his horse, and a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing verses of Maharatta songs, all apparently relating to his trade. At length Trimbuk-jee disappeared, and the groom followed him; on which it was recollected that his singing had been made up of verses like the following:

“ Behind the bush the bowmen hide,  
The horse beneath the tree;  
Where shall I find a knight will ride  
The jungle paths with me?  
There are five and fifty coursers there,  
And four and fifty men;  
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,  
The Decken thrives again!”

This might have been a stratagem of the Scottish border, so complete a similarity of character and incident does a resemblance of habit and circumstance produce among mankind.

*January 11.*—This morning we arrived at Secundra, nine coss from Furrâh, a ruinous village and without a bazar, but remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Acbar, the most splendid building in its way which I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles surmounted by open pavilions, and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Acbar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at any

thing else. Government have granted money for the repair of the tomb, and an officer of engineers is employed on it. A serjeant of artillery is kept in the place, who lives in one of the gateways; his business is to superintend a plantation of sissoo-trees made by Dr. Wallich. He says the soil does not appear to suit them; they grow, however, but by no means rapidly. For fruit-trees, particularly the orange, the soil is very favourable, and the tall tamarinds and the generally neglected state of the garden afford more picturesque points of view than large buildings usually are seen in.

The next morning, January 12th, we proceeded to Mr. Irving's house, near Agra, about six miles, through a succession of ruins, little less continuous and desolate than those round Delhi. I noticed, however, that some of the old tombs have been formed into dwelling-houses, and Mr. Irving's is one of this description. I found there a very comfortable room prepared for myself, with plenty of space in the compound for my encampment.

In the evening I went with Mr. Irving to see the city, the fort, and the Jumna Musjeed. The city is large, old, and ruinous, with little to attract attention beyond that picturesque mixture of houses, balconies, projecting roofs, and groupes of people in the eastern dress, which is common to all Indian towns. The fort is very large and ancient, surrounded with high walls and towers of red stone, which command some noble views of the city, its neighbourhood, and the windings of the Jumna. The principal sights, however, which it contains, are the

Motee Musjeed, a beautiful mosque of white marble, carved with exquisite simplicity and elegance, and the palace built by Acbar, in a great degree of the same material, and containing some noble rooms, now sadly disfigured and destroyed by neglect, and by being used as warehouses, armories, offices, and lodging-rooms for the garrison.

The hall, now used as the "Dewanny Aum," or public court of justice, is a splendid edifice, supported by pillars and arches of white marble, as large and more nobly simple than that of Delhi. The ornaments, carving, and Mosaic of the smaller apartments, in which was formerly the Zennanah, are equal or superior to any thing which is described as found in the Alhambra. The view from these rooms is very fine, at the same time that there are some, adapted for the hot winds, from which light is carefully excluded. This suite is lined with small mirrors in fantastic frames; a cascade of water, also surrounded by mirrors, has been made to gush from a recess at the upper end, and marble channels, beautifully inlaid with cornelians, agates, and jasper, convey the stream to every side of the apartment. In another of the towers are baths of equal beauty, one of which, a single block of white marble, Lord Hastings caused to be forced up from its situation, not without considerable injury both to the bath itself and the surrounding pavement, in order to carry it down to Calcutta. It was, however, too heavy for the common budge-row in use on the Jumna, and the bath remains to shame its spoiler. Should the plan, which has

been often talked of, of having a separate Government for central India, ever be carried into execution, this would unquestionably be the Government house. It might still be restored at less expense than building a new residence for the Governor, and there is, at present, no architect in India able to build even a lodge in the same style. The Jumna Musjeed is not by any means so fine as that of Delhi. It is very picturesque, however, and the more so from its neglected state and the grass and peepul-trees which grow about its lofty domes.

Archdeacon Corrie's celebrated convert, Abdul Musseeh, breakfasted this morning at Mr. Irving's; he is a very fine old man, with a magnificent grey beard, and much more gentlemanly manners than any Christian native whom I have seen. His rank, indeed, previous to his conversion, was rather elevated, since he was master of the jewels to the court of Oude, an appointment of higher estimation in Eastern palaces than in those of Europe, and the holder of which has always a high salary. Abdul Musseeh's present appointments, as Christian Missionary, are sixty rupees a month, and of this he gives away at least half! Who can dare to say that this man has changed his faith from any interested motives? He is a very good Hindoostanee, Persian, and Arabic scholar, but knows no English. There is a small congregation of native Christians, converted by Mr. Corrie when he was Chaplain at Agra, and now kept together by Abdul Musseeh. The earnest desire of this good man is to be ordained a Clergyman of the Church of England, and

if God spares his life and mine, I hope, during the Ember weeks in this next autumn, to confer orders on him. He is every way fit for them, and is a most sincere Christian, quite free, so far as I could observe, from all conceit or enthusiasm. His long eastern dress, his long grey beard, and his calm resigned countenance, give him already almost the air of an apostle<sup>1</sup>.

*January 13.*—I went to see the celebrated Tage-mahal, of which it is enough to say that, after hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. There was much, indeed, which I was not prepared for. The surrounding garden, which as well as the Tage itself, is kept in excellent order by Government, with its marble fountains, beautiful cypresses and other trees, and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Abdul Musseeh was converted to Christianity, and baptised in the Old Church at Calcutta, when he was about forty years of age. He was, subsequently, employed for eight years by the Church Missionary Society as Catechist, and received Lutheran ordination in the year 1820, from the hands of the Missionaries of that Society. In December, 1825, the Bishop conferred on him, together with three other Missionaries, the rite of Episcopal ordination; the Articles, the various oaths, and the ordination service, having been translated, for his use, into Hindoostanee. The Bishop also read a considerable part of the ceremony in that language. Abdul Musseeh, immediately after, went to Lucknow, where he resided, with the exception of a visit to Cawnpore, till his death, which happened on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, 1827, occasioned by mortification proceeding from a neglected carbuncle. The Resident, Mr. Ricketts, who had always behaved to him with the utmost kindness and liberality, read the burial service at his grave, and ordered a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription in English and Persian. Among other bequests, Abdul Musseeh left his books to the Bible Society.—J.D.

fusion of flowering shrubs, contrasts very finely with the white marble of which the tomb itself is composed, and takes off, by partially concealing it, from that stiffness which belongs more or less to every highly-finished building. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material. The Tâge contains, as usual, a central hall about as large as the interior of the Ratcliffe library, in which, enclosed within a carved screen of elaborate tracery, are the tombs of the Begum Noor-jehan, Shahjehan's beloved wife, to whom it was erected, and by her side, but a little raised above her, of the unfortunate Emperor himself. Round this hall are a number of smaller apartments, corridors, &c. and the windows are carved in lattices of the same white marble with the rest of the building, and the screen. The pavement is in alternate squares of white, and, what is called in Europe, sienna marble, the walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful Mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli, and jasper; and yet, though every thing is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimney-piece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy. The parts which I like least are the great dome and the minarets. The bulbous swell of the former I think clumsy, and the minarets have nothing to recommend them but their height and the beauty of their materials. But the man must have more criticism than taste or feeling about him, who could allow such imper-



fections to weigh against the beauties of the Tagemahal. The Jumna washes one side of the garden, and there are some remains of a bridge which was designed by Shahjehan, with the intention, as the story goes, to build a 'second Tage of equal beauty for his own separate place of interment, on the opposite side of the river.

On that side are some interesting ruins of other structures, more especially the tomb of Etmun ud Dowlah, prime minister of Shahjehan. It is said to be very beautiful, but I did not see it, since during the rest of my stay at Agra I was confined by a feverish cold, and was barely able to go out on Friday to hold a confirmation, with a voice more completely lost than I ever remember happening to me before. I received very great kindness and hospitality from Mr. and Mrs. Irving, and on Sunday, though against Dr. Smith's advice, I preached and administered the Sacrament, and did not feel myself the worse for it.

The number of persons confirmed was about forty, half of whom were native Christians, mostly old persons and converts of Mr. Corrie's during his residence here. Abdul Musseeh told me there were a good many more scattered up and down in the neighbouring towns of Coel, Allyghur, and Etwah, whither he went from time to time, but who were too far off to attend on this occasion. Of several he spoke as elderly persons, who had been in the Maharatta service during Penn's time, of European extraction, but who knew no language but Hindoostanee, and were very glad to have re-

ligious instruction afforded them in that language. Many of them gladly attend on his and Mr. Irving's ministry, but others are zealous Roman Catholics, and adhere closely to the Priest of Agra.

One of these Indo-Europeans is an old Colonel, of French extraction, but completely Indian in colour, dress, language, and ideas. He is rich, and has a large family of daughters, two or three of whom he has married, rather advantageously, to some of the wealthy country-born English. But no man is allowed to see any of these young ladies till he has had his offer accepted by the father, and till it is perfectly understood that he is pledged to marry one of them. He is then introduced behind the *purdahs* of the *Zennanah*, and allowed to take his choice! The poor girls, of course, are never once consulted in the transaction. Mr. Irving celebrated one of these marriages, at which, except the bride, no female was visible, though he was told that the rest were allowed to peep from behind the curtains.

I took this opportunity of enquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where, for so many years together, it was paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English *Sahibs*. Many of them, indeed, like this old Colonel, had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs, and most of them were free from that exclusive and intolerant spirit, which makes the English,

wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. Of this foolish, surly, national pride, I see but too many instances daily, and I am convinced it does us much harm in this country. We are not guilty of injustice, or wilful oppression, but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### AGRA TO JYEPPOOR

*Preparations for the Journey through the independent States of Western India—Futtehpoor—City of Achar—Great Mosque—Palace—Bhurtpoor—Mode of sinking Wells—Letter from the Raja of Bhurtpoor—Good State of his Country—Sir David Ochterlony—Sir John Malcolm—Wuerh—Mowah—Frontier of Jyepoor—Idol carried to Bindrabund—Deosa—Hindoo Festival—Arrival at Jyepoor*

JANUARY 17.—I sent off my tents this morning to a small village about nine miles from Agra, and two on the Agra side of the little town of Kerowlee, and drove over myself in the afternoon. I had found it necessary, during my stay at Agra, to make many alterations in, and some additions to my usual domestic arrangements, preparatory to leaving the Company's territory for my long journey through the independent states of Rajpootana, Meywar, &c. My tents were only adapted for cold weather, and would prove a very insufficient protection against either the sun or the storms of central India, being of European construction, and formed simply of one fold of thin canvas lined with baize. The necessity being admitted by all parties, I purchased two, which were on sale in the city, on the Company's account, there being none of any sort at the Dépôt. My new lodgings

were not so roomy or convenient as my old, but they answered very well, and every body tells me I shall find the advantage when the hot winds begin to blow. Another necessary was a fresh supply of live-stock. I had before been content to carry a few fowls on the back of one of the camels, and to trust to the supplies which the villages afforded for a kid or a sheep occasionally. But we were now going to countries where no Mussulmans are found, where there are few great cities, and a very scattered population of villages, who consume no animal food themselves,—who have no supplies of the kind for strangers,—and, above all, who are now in a state of absolute famine. And though by myself, it must be a desolate country indeed where I should feel want, I was bound to consider that I was not alone, and that my companions also required attention. I was advised to buy some sheep, which were to be driven with us and killed as they were wanted. These, with some salt beef and tongues, were thought sufficient to carry us to Guzerat. At Nusseerabad no supplies of any kind are to be looked for. A solar hat and green shade were next recommended, and pressed on my acceptance by the kindness of Mrs. Irving. A spare saddle, and a store of horse-shoes, were also declared to be necessary, and, in short, so many things were to be procured, that, had I been actually going into the interior of Africa, a less formidable preparation might, I should have thought, have sufficed. Some of my bearers, too, declared they neither would nor dared go beyond

the limits of the Company's Raj! This was at first likely to be the greatest difficulty of all, since there were at Agra none to be obtained who would undertake to go further than Nusseerabad, and there, there are absolutely none to be had. A small advance of wages, however, induced most of them to promise anew they would "follow me to the world's end." The very deep and difficult wells which I am told to expect in our progress to the south-west, made it necessary for me to hire another bheestie, to draw water for myself and my horses. All these difficulties I had little doubt that I should find extremely exaggerated; but I was compelled, in my local ignorance, to follow the opinions of those who had local knowledge, and who evidently considered my journey as one of an arduous nature.

For the alarm and reluctance expressed by the natives of Hindostan to go into these western states, good reasons may be given. But a very few years have passed away since the British Government had neither influence nor authority in these districts, which, between the Maharattas, the Rajpoots, the Mewattees, and the Seiks, were in a constant state of intestine war, and as dangerous for travellers as the interior of Arabia is at this moment. At that time a person wishing to go into these provinces, could not, as I am assured, have obtained bearers for less than eight or ten rupees a month; and the merchants travelled in caravans, paying high rates for protection to every little plundering Raja. Now the Maharattas are sub-

duced and driven out of the country,—the Mewattees are in a great measure reclaimed,—the Seiks are fully employed at home, and the Rajpoot princes and nobles are kept in awe by British Residents and British garrisons. It still, however, is spoken of as a wild, dreary, and inhospitable country, where provisions and water, fruit and forage, are scarce,—where thieves are numerous, and regular inhabitants few—where a servant must look for inconvenience and fatigue, and where he can expect few of those circumstances of amusement or gratification, which, in Hindostan proper, make many of this class of men prefer a rambling to a settled and stationary service. I was told to expect at this place a great desertion of my Bengalee servants also. But nothing of the kind has occurred: even if they talk with some dismay of accompanying me through the desert and over the sea, they like still less the notion of finding their own way back to Calcutta. They all say they never heard of such a journey as mine before, and that “neither mountains nor any thing else stand in my way.” This is all absurd enough at the present moment; but the recollection of where I am, and the circumstances of convenience and safety under which I have traversed, and am about, if it please God, to traverse regions which are laid down as a *terra incognita* in Arrowsmith’s map of 1816, ought to make, and I hope does make, a strong impression on my mind, of thankfulness to that Great God, whose providence has opened to the British nation, so wide and so untried a field of usefulness,—and

of anxiety, lest we should any of us, in our station, fall short of those duties which this vast increase of power and dominion imposes on us. I am often ready to break into lamentations that, where so much is to do in my own peculiar profession, the means at my disposal enable me to accomplish so little. But I ought to be anxious, far more, not to fall short in my exertions of those means which I have, and to keep my attention steadily fixed on professional objects, in order that, what I cannot do myself, I may at least lead others to think of, and perhaps to accomplish.

The Thannadar of Kerowlee is a very intelligent old soldier, with certificates of good conduct from all the officers of distinction who commanded in Lord Lake's Maharatta war, and able to speak of most of the events which occurred in it. I was sorry to find that during the early part of that war, some of the British officers disgraced themselves by rapacity and extortion. Such instances, I believe and hope, are now neither of frequent nor easy occurrence.

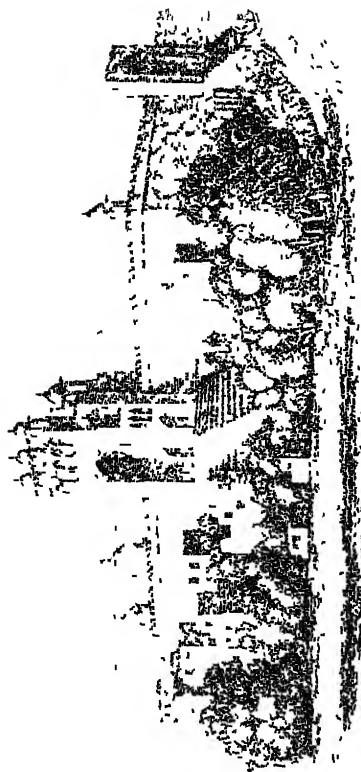
*January 18.*—We went on this morning to Futtehpoor-sicri, about ten miles, through a verdant and tolerably well-cultivated country, but with few trees. We passed Kerowlee, a small town, with a ruined rampart and towers, seated on a low gravelly hill, with a few poor attempts at gardens round it. The country all seemed to have benefited greatly by the late rain, which is still standing in pools in many parts of the road. There had, indeed, been more, and more recent rain here than what we saw



in Delhi. The approach to Futtehpoor is striking; it is surrounded by a high stone wall, with battlements and round towers, like the remaining part of the city walls at Oxford. Within this is a wide extent of ruined houses and mosques, interspersed with fields cultivated with rice and mustard, and a few tamarind trees, and nearly in the middle, on a high ridge of rocky hills, is a range of ruinous palaces, serais, and other public buildings, in the best style of Mussulman architecture; and to form the centre of the picture, a noble mosque, in good repair, and in dimensions equal, I should think, to the Jumna Musjeed of Delhi.

This town was the favourite residence of Acbar, and here, in his expeditions, he usually left his wives and children, under the care of his most trusted friend, Sheikh Soliman. The mosques, the palace, and the ramparts, are all Acbar's work, and nearly in the same style with the castle of Agra and his own tomb at Secundra. The two former, are, however, plainer than this last, and there is a far less allowance of white marble.

We found our tents pitched among the ruins and rubbish, about a bow-shot from the foot of the hill and in full view of the great gate of the mosque, which is approached by the noblest flight of steps I ever saw. The morning was still cool, and we determined to see the curiosities without loss of time. The steps of which I have spoken lead to a fine arch surmounted by a lofty tower; thence we pass into a quadrangle of about five hundred feet square, with a very lofty and majestic cloister all



MOSQUE AT FETTAHPOOR-SICRI.



round, a large mosque surmounted by three fine domes of white marble on the left hand, and opposite to the entrance two tombs of very elaborate workmanship, of which that to the right contains several monuments of the imperial family; that to the left a beautiful chapel of white marble, the shrine of Sheikh Soliman, who had the good fortune to be a saint as well as a statesman.

The impression which this whole view produced on me will be appreciated when I say, that there is no quadrangle either in Oxford or Cambridge fit to be compared with it, either in size, or majestic proportions, or beauty of architecture. It is kept in substantial repair by the British Government, and its grave and solid style makes this an easier task than the intricate and elaborate inlaid work of Secundra and the Tage-mahal. The interior of the mosque itself is fine, and in the same simple character of grandeur, but the height of the portal tower, and the magnificence of the quadrangle had raised my expectations too high, and I found that these were the greatest as well as the most striking beauties of Futtehpoor.

A little to the right is the palace, now all in ruins except a small part which is inhabited by the Tusildar of the district. We rambled some time among its courts, and through a range of stables worthy of an Emperor, consisting of a long and wide street, with a portico on each side, fifteen feet deep, supported with carved stone pillars in front, and roofed with enormous slabs of stone, reaching from the colonnade to the wall. There are four buildings

particularly worthy of notice, one a small but richly-ornamented house, which is shewn as the residence of Beerbal the Emperor's favourite minister, whom the Mussulmans accuse of having infected him with the strange religious notions, with which, in the latter part of his life, he sought to inoculate his subjects. Another is a very beautiful octagonal pavilion in the corner of the court, which appears to have been the Zennanah, and was variously stated to us to have been the Emperor's private study, or the bed-chamber of one of his wives who was a daughter of the Sultan of Constantinople. It has three large windows filled with an exquisite tracery of white marble, and all its remaining wall is carved with trees, bunches of grapes, and the figures of different kinds of birds and beasts, of considerable merit in their execution, but the two last disfigured by the bigotry of Aurungzebe, who, as is well known, sought to make amends for his own abominable cruelty and wickedness towards his father and brothers, by a more than usual zeal for the traditions and observances of Islam. The third is a little building which, if its traditional destination be correct, I wonder Aurungzebe allowed to stand. It consists merely of a shrine or canopy supported by four pillars, which the Mussulman ciceroni of the place pretend was devoted by Acbar to the performance of Magical rites. Whatever its use may have been, it is not without beauty. The fourth is a singular pavilion, in the centre of which is a pillar or stone pulpit richly carved, approached by four stone galleries from different sides of the

room, on which the Emperor used to sit on certain occasions of state, while his subjects were admitted below to present their petitions. It is a mere capriccio, with no merit except its carving, but is remarkable as being one of the most singular buildings I have seen, and commanding from its terraced roof a very advantageous view of the greater part of the city, and a wide extent of surrounding country.

Of this last much appears to have been laid out in an extensive lake, of which the dam is still to be traced, and the whole hill on which the palace stands bears marks of terraces and gardens, to irrigate which an elaborate succession of wells, cisterns, and wheels appears to have been contrived adjoining the great mosque, and forcing up the water nearly to the height of its roof. The cisterns are still useful as receptacles for rain-water, but the machinery is long since gone to decay. On the whole, Futtehpoor is one of the most interesting places which I have seen in India, and it was to me the more so, because, as it happened, I had heard little about it, and was by no means prepared to expect buildings of so much magnitude and splendour.

Mr. Lushington was forced to leave me to return to Lucknow, and we parted with mutual hopes that we might often meet again, but in India how many chances are there against such hopes being accomplished! If his health is spared he will, I hope and believe, be a valueable man in this country, inasmuch as he has memory, application, good

sense, excellent principles both religious and moral; and, what I have seldom seen in young Indian civilians, a strong desire to conciliate the minds and improve the condition of the inhabitants of the country.

After dinner I again walked to the mosque and went to the top of the gateway tower, which commands a very extensive view. The most remarkable object in the distance was the rampart of Bhurt-poor, eight coss from us, and hardly to be distinguished by the naked eye, but sufficiently visible with a pocket telescope. A number of miserable dependants on the religious establishment came up and begged for charity. One was blind, but officiated as porter so far as keeping the keys of the tower and other lock-up places. Another was deaf and dumb, and filled the place of sweeper; there were also some poor old women who "abode," as they told me, "in the temple gate, and made prayer night and day." These people, as well as the two principal Muezzins, who had been my ciceroni through the day, were very thankful for the trifle I gave them, and begged me in return "to eat some of the bread of the sanctuary," under which character they produced a few little round cakes of barley-meal, stuck over with something like sugar. On leaving the building I was surprised to hear a deep-toned bell pealing from its interior, but on asking what it was, was told that it was only used to strike the hours on. Had I not asked the question, I might have been tempted to suppose (with the ingenious Master Peter in Don Quixote's cele-

brated puppet-show) that "the Moors really used bells in their Churches as well as the Christians." As it was, the sound had a pleasing effect, and increased the collegiate character of the building.

*January 19.*—We rode this morning ten miles through a tolerably-cultivated country, but strangely overspread with ruins, to a large dilapidated village named Khanwah. In our way we had a heavy shower of rain, and rain continued to fall at intervals through the greater part of the day. On my arrival at Khanwah, I found that this place, though laid down in Arrowsmith's map as within the British boundary, was in truth a part of the territory of Bhurtpoor, and that for the two following marches I should also be under the Raja's authority. Ignorant of this circumstance myself, I had omitted to procure a purwanu, which might have been obtained in a few hours from his vakeel resident in Agra, and without which none of his officers were likely to give me any assistance in my progress through his country; the people were civil, but pleaded that they had received no notice or instructions concerning my arrival, and that, without orders, they could not venture to levy the necessary supplies on the peasants, who, on the other hand, were not willing to sell the grass and fuel which they had collected for their own use, unless they were called on to do so in a lawful manner. At last, after a good part of the morning had past away, the Zemindar of the place, a venerable old man like a middling farmer, took the business on himself, and supplied us from his own stores, on the



assurance not only of payment, but of a letter of recommendation to the civility and kindness of any English who might pass that way. The business was thus settled for the day, but in order to prevent its recurrence the next morning, I sent a letter to the Raja, in which I explained who I was, and requested him to give the needful purwanu to the bearer. It was despatched by the most intelligent of the judge's people to the court of Bhurtpoor.

Khanwah is at the foot of a remarkable ridge of grey granite, which protrudes itself, like the spine of a huge skeleton half buried, from the red soil and red rock of the neighbourhood. On its top is a small mosque, and, though in a Hindoo country, the great majority of the inhabitants of this village are Mussulmans. As I passed through the principal street in my evening's walk, I saw a very young man naked and covered with chalk and ashes, his hair wreathed with withered leaves and flowers, working with his hands and a small trowel in a hole about big enough to hide him if he stooped down. I asked him if he were sinking a well, but a by-stander told me that he was a Mussulman Fakir from the celebrated shrine near Agmere, that this was his dwelling, and that he used to make a fire at the bottom and cower over it. They called this a Suttee, but explained themselves to mean that he would not actually kill, but only roast himself by way of penance. I attempted, as far as I could, to reason with him, but obtained no answer except a sort of faint smile. His countenance was pretty strongly marked by insanity. I gave him a

few pice, which he received in silence, and laid down on a stone, then touched his forehead respectfully, and resumed his work, scraping with his hands like a mole.

The houses in this neighbourhood are all of red sand-stone, and several of them are supported by many small pillars internally, and roofed with large stone slabs laid from one pillar to the other. Wood is very scarce and dear. There were no boughs to be had for the elephants and camels, to which, therefore, it was necessary to give an extra supply of gram, and the only fuel which could be found for our camp was dried cow-dung. There are, however, a few scattered trees here and there, one belonging to a species of fir which I had never before seen, and on the road from Futtehpoor we passed a fine mangoe-tree, the first I had seen since leaving Delhi, except in the gardens of Secundra and the Tâge.

The wells of this country, some of which are very deep, are made in a singular manner. They build a tower of masonry of the diameter required, and twenty or thirty feet high from the surface of the ground. This they allow to stand a year or more, till its masonry is rendered firm and compact by time, then gradually undermine and promote its sinking into the sandy soil, which it does without difficulty and all together. When level with the surface they raise its wall higher, and so go on, throwing out the sand and raising the wall till they have reached the water. If they adopted our method, the soil is so light that it would fall in on

them before they could possibly raise the wall from the bottom, nor without the wall could they sink to any considerable depth. I forgot to mention that the day before we left Agra, the poor camel-driver, whom I had left in a jungle-fever at Moradabad, arrived safely and in restored health to join me. He had been very ill, and spoke with extreme gratitude of the kindness shewn him by the staff-surgeon, Mr. Bell, who had, he said, taken great care of him, and had now procured him from the commissariat, an advance of part of his pay, and a camel to ride on for his journey from Moradabad hither. It was pleasing to see the joy with which this lad was received by his comrades, who had given him up for lost. I wrote to Mr. Bell to thank him.

*January 20.*—Before day-break this morning, I was told that a vakeel from the Raja of Bhurtpoor had arrived with a letter and present of fruit from his master. The messenger announced himself as treasurer to the Raja. He was a very tall and fine-looking old man, handsomely dressed, but with a small train of attendants. He expressed the Raja's regret that I did not intend to visit Bhurtpoor, and the pleasure which he had promised himself in shewing me some good hunting. The letter was enclosed in a silk bag, and sealed with a broad seal like that of an University diploma. The vakeel said that he had orders to attend me in my remaining progress through the Bhurtpoor territories to procure supplies, but seemed surprised on finding that I meant to proceed to Pharsah that

day. He said, however, that he would follow me as soon as his cattle could travel, and of course I did not wish to hurry him, particularly since the suwarr had gone on directly from Bhurtpoor to the encamping ground with all necessary powers. The vakeel had travelled, not on horseback, but in a covered carriage drawn by oxen.

From Khanwah to Pharsah is reckoned seven coss. The coss in this neighbourhood are long, and the distance, so far as I could judge, is above fourteen miles. The country, though still bare of wood, has more scattered trees than we had seen for many days back, and notwithstanding that the soil is sandy, and only irrigated from wells, it is one of the best-cultivated and watered tracts which I have seen in India. The crops of corn now on the ground were really beautiful, that of cotton, though gone by, shewed marks of having been a very good one; what is a sure proof of wealth, I saw several sugar-mills, and large pieces of ground whence the cane had just been cleared, and, contrary to the usual habits of India, where the cultivators keep as far as they can from the high-way, to avoid the various molestations to which they are exposed from thieves and travellers, there was often only a narrow path-way winding through the green wheat and mustard crop, and even this was crossed continually by the channels which conveyed water to the furrows. The population did not seem great, but the few villages which we saw were apparently in good condition and repair, and the whole afforded so pleasing a picture of industry,

and was so much superior to any thing which I had been led to expect in Rajpootana, or which I had seen in the Company's territories since leaving the southern parts of Rohilcund, that I was led to suppose that either the Raja of Bhurtpoor was an extremely exemplary and parental governor, or that the system of management adopted in the British provinces was in some way or other less favourable to the improvement and happiness of the country than that of some of the Native states.

What the old Jemautdar of Khanwah said as to the rent he paid to Government, and the answers which he made to some questions put to him, were not, however, such as would lead one to expect an industrious or prosperous peasantry. No certain rent is fixed by Government, but the State takes every year what it thinks fit, leaving only what, in its discretion, it regards as a sufficient maintenance for the Zemindars and Ryuts. This is pretty nearly the system which has produced such ruinous effects in Oude, but which is of course tempered in these smaller states by the facility of bringing complaints to the ear of the Sovereign, by the want of power in the Sovereign himself to withstand any general rising, to which his tyranny might in the long run drive his subjects, and most of all, by the immediate and perceptible loss of income which he would sustain, if by dealing too hard with any particular village, he made its inhabitants emigrate to the territories of his neighbour. Nor must the old hereditary attachment be lost sight of, which makes

the rulers or subjects of a Jât or Rajpoot state regard each other as kindred, and feel a pride, the one in the power and splendour of a chief who is the head of his clan, the other in the numbers and prosperity of those who constitute his society and court in time of peace, and in war his only army.

The contingent which Bhurtpoor is bound to bring to the aid of the British Government in case of war on this frontier, is 700 horse; but on necessity the Raja might, I should conceive, raise many more, since the much smaller state of Bul-lumghur rated its means at 500 cavalry and 1500 infantry. The standing army of Bhurtpoor, however, probably falls short of 300 men. No more, indeed, are necessary, than will suffice for the purposes of state and to keep down robbers, and the Raja may be supposed to lay by a considerable surplus revenue.

The present Raja is said to be a young man of very pleasing manners and address. During the Pindarree war he came in person to Lord Hastings' camp with his contingent, but expressed considerable uneasiness as to the light in which he might possibly be regarded by the British Government, and how far his father's gallant and successful defence of Bhurtpoor might be remembered to his disadvantage. He was much tranquillized on being told that his tribe and himself were only the more respected and confided in by their present allies, for the bravery and fidelity which they had shewn to their former Maharatta Suzerains, and the perfect system of non-interference, which has been

since pursued towards him, is said to have gone far to remove whatever jealousy might still be lurking in his mind. At present there seems no doubt that all the smaller princes of this part of India have been great gainers by the rise of the British power on the ruins of that of Sindia and Holkar. They have all of them peace and tranquillity, which for many years they had never enjoyed for three months together. Many have had additional territory given them, and all have their revenues in a more flourishing state than they had been in the memory of man. The organization, therefore, of this new confederacy, if it may be called so, may seem to be the most brilliant and successful measure of Lord Hastings' administration, and one from which, as yet, almost unmingled good has flowed to the people and nobles of Western and Central Hindostan. I confess I am tempted to wish that more of the country over which our influence extends were divided into similar fiefs and petty feudal lordships.

Sir David Ochterlony, who, as agent to the Governor-General, is the common arbitrator and referee in the disputes of these little sovereigns, is said to maintain an almost kingly state. His income from different sources is little less than 15,000 s. rupees monthly, and he spends it almost all. Dr. Smith, in his late march from Mhow to Meerut, passed by Sir David's camp. The "burra Sahib," or great man, was merely travelling with his own family and personal followers from Delhi to Jyepoor, but his retinue, including servants, escort,

European and native aides-de-camp, and the various non-descripts of an Asiatic train, together with the apparatus of horses, elephants, and camels,—the number of his tents, and the size of the enclosure hung round with red cloth, by which his own and his daughter's private tents were fenced in from the eyes of the profane, were what an European, or even an old Indian, whose experience had been confined to Bengal, would scarcely be brought to credit. All this is at least harmless, and so far as it suits the habits and ideas of the natives themselves, it may have a good effect. But in Agra and Delhi, though Sir David is uniformly spoken of as a kind, honourable, and worthy man, I was shocked to find that the venality and corruption of the people by whom he is surrounded, was a matter of exceeding scandal. Against one of his moonshees it appears he had been frequently warned without effect, till at length, in the course of a casual conversation with the Emperor's treasurer, Sir David found to his astonishment, that his own name stood as a pensioner on the poor old sovereign's civil list, to the amount of 1000 rupees monthly! The moonshee had demanded it in his master's name; to refuse was out of the question, and delicacy had prevented the Emperor from naming the subject to the person whom, as he supposed, he was laying under an obligation! So careful ought public men in India to be that their servants do not abuse their authority. But, how great must be the difficulties attendant on power in these provinces, when even Sir John Malcolm,



I have heard of no one whom all parties agree in commending. His talents, his accessibility, his firmness, his conciliating manners, and admirable knowledge of the native language and character, are spoken of in the same terms by all.

The village of Pharsah stands on the side of a small hill of sandstone, below which winds what is now a dry expanse of sand, but in the rainy season is said to be a considerable nuddee. The village contains a fortified house of the Raja's, now empty and ruinous, but built in by no means a bad taste, and having its surrounding court ornamented with a range of handsome stone cloisters, lining the inside of the mud rampart.

In the evening we walked into the neighbouring fields, the greater part of which were covered with beautiful crops of green wheat. The soil is, however, mere sand, but under the sun of India, even sand becomes fertile by irrigation. So sensible are the people of this truth, that, notwithstanding the recent rains, we found them every where busy with their bullocks at the wheels of their wells, raising water to their "gools," (small channels) which convey its rills to their fields. The work is toilsome, and must be expensive, but both labour and expence are amply repaid by such crops as their fields now promise. I observed that the men who were filling the gools had their spears stuck in the ground close to them. I asked if this were a necessary precaution, and was told that "now the times were so peaceable there was no fear, but that the dustoor had begun in time of trouble, and it

was well to keep it up lest trouble should come again." Travellers, as a matter of course, are all armed, but the peasantry, in general, do not wear so warlike an aspect as those of Oude. I had heard a different account of them, but ten years' peace are already enough to have produced a considerable effect on their habits and feelings.

I saw a great number of pea-fowl and of the beautiful greenish pigeon common in this country. Both the one and the other were as tame as the tamest barn-door fowl, and scarcely troubled themselves to get out of the way. Dr. Smith observed that he had never seen a peacock with its train displayed. This, if generally true, is a curious fact, for their feathers and their habits in other respects resemble exactly those of Europe. They are a great ornament to the country.

The Jât women are, I think, rather taller and more robust than those of Hindostan; they are all dressed in red shawl-like mantles, which have a better appearance than the dirty and coarse cotton cloth which the Hindoostanee and Bengalee females wrap round them. We were now completely out of the regular Dâk, but the Raja's vakeel undertook to forward some letters for me to Agra, which city he called Achar-abad.

*January 21.*—From Pharsah to Wuerh is five long coss, during which we gradually approached one of the chains of low hills I have mentioned; they are very naked and sandy. The plain was not so well cultivated as that over which we had passed the day before, and seemed to have suffered

from drought. We saw two large spaces enclosed with mounds of earth, with good stone sluices, which appeared to have been tanks, but were now quite dry, and partially cultivated within with wheat and cotton. A large herd of deer were grazing on the plain; they were perfectly tame, and allowed us to ride up near enough to examine them with ease. One of the males was very beautiful, and of a singular colour, pye-balled black and white, like what are called in England blanket cows. The others were dappled red with white bellies as usual.

We overtook a body of people going to a marriage, with a couple of large banners, two kettledrums on a camel, several horns and other musical instruments, and two or three hackeries full of men with pink turbans and holiday faces. Our falling in with them was lucky, since we had lost our way, and none of our horsemen could give any guess at the situation of Wuerh. About a mile further, however, an extensive line of groves came into view, and shewed that we were approaching a place of some consequence, while the care with which every foot of ground was enclosed and improved, spoke well for the industry of its inhabitants. We found it a large town, surrounded by a high mud rampart, at the gate of which we were stopped by a decent-looking elderly man, who saluted me, and said that I should find my tents by following a path which he pointed out among the orchards and gardens outside the wall. The truth, however, appeared to be that he did not

like us to enter his fortress, for it was not till we had nearly gone half round the town, that we found the tents pitched in a fine tope, at a short distance from the gate directly opposite to that which he had prevented us from entering. If he feared to put us in possession of the plan of his castle, he could not, as it happened, have taken a better way to enable us to gain all the military knowledge which was necessary, since our path wound close under the wall, and we saw all its principal flanks and lines of defence. The wall is of earth, high and steep, well flanked by semi-circular bastions, with a wide but shallow ditch filled up in several places, and without a glacis. If well defended, it would scarcely yield to a coup de main, but might be breached, I should think, in a few hours. There were loop-holes for musquetry in the parapets of the bastions, but I saw no cannon. The rampart was in many places much decayed, but bore evident marks of having recently received considerable repairs,—a measure which may have been suggested either by the disastrous reports with regard to the British arms in the east, which had been so industriously circulated, or still more likely, by the quarrel between the Rannee of Jyepoor and the British Resident, and the retreat of the latter from the city. It is not necessary to suppose, as some of the Europeans in Agra do, that if our Government had really tottered the Raja of Bhurtpoor would have rejoiced in an opportunity of helping it down the hill. However well he may wish us, (and he has been, certainly, a gainer

by our predominance,) in a time of universal war and trouble, such as would probably follow our evacuation of this part of the country, it would be highly desirable that his castles should be found in a state of good repair. And this is a sufficient motive for the repairs which I saw at Wuerh.

The grove where the tents were pitched was so close and shady that it would have been delightful during the warmer months; as it was, I should have preferred the plain, for it was so dark in my tent that I could hardly see to write. There was, however, no choice of situation, since the plain for a considerable distance round the town was so highly cultivated and so much inclosed, that no room could have been found for our cofilah.

As we wound round the rampart to reach the camp, we passed a number of huts occupied by the "chumars" (leather dressers) and other Hindoos of low caste, who follow professions regarded as unclean by the majority of their countrymen, and are therefore not admitted into any of their towns. Leprous persons lie under the same exclusion, and many gipseys are usually found among this mingled and refuse population, which is generally as immoral as it is degraded and unfortunate. The suburbs of the ancient cities of the Jews seem to have been almost similarly inhabited, and I was forcibly struck to-day (as I rode through the huts of which I have spoken, and saw the filthy swine, the dogs gnawing the carcasses of different animals, and the flaunting dress and unequivocal air of the miserable, ragged, and dirty females,) with that

passage in the Revelations, which, though figuratively applied to the pure discipline of the Christian Church in its state of glory, is obviously taken from the police of a well-regulated earthly city in that age and country. "There shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth." "For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie."

I had been much plagued ever since I left Meerut and Delhi by different persons, who under the name of "Expectants" or "Candidates," had attached themselves to the camp, and solicited me, day after day, either to take them into my service, or, which was still more impossible, to recommend them to the service of some other person. This practice arises, no doubt, out of the vast and overflowing population of India, abounding as it does beyond its due proportion, in persons of a certain degree of education, who are unable or indisposed to earn their bread by manual labour, and who, therefore, have no resource but as the servants of great men, or moonshees in some government office. The number of these petitioners is an exceeding plague to all public men in the north of India, where they often attach themselves to the door of a Cutcherry for weeks and months together. Several of this description followed me from Meerut to Delhi, including among them a fine shewy fellow, a captain of irregular horse, who would not believe that I did not mean to levy a body-guard to attend me across the wilderness to Bombay. I was able, as it hap-

pened, to do this poor man, who was well recommended, a good turn, which, though it freed me from his company, had rather the effect of attracting others, who followed me on foot and in misery, and who seemed to think that by wearing out their shoes and spending all their little money in my train, though without any invitation and against my repeated warnings, they established some claim on me to provide for them. At the frontier all dropt off except one, a candidate for a moonshee's place, the gradual deterioration of whose outward man had been for some time back lamentable enough. When he first preferred his suit at Meerut he was decently dressed, had a good poney, and had himself that appearance of sleekness and good keep, which in the opinion of a native of this country is almost synonymous with respectability. He and his horse were now lean, his clothes were becoming daily dirtier and more threadbare, and a silver-hilted sword was the only remaining memento of the fact that he pretended to the character of a gentleman and a man of letters. I asked him this morning "how long he intended to travel the same way with me," to which he replied that "he was my devoted servant, that he had thrown himself on my pity, and relying on that, had spent every farthing he possessed, and might as well go on with me till he dropt, as die of hunger in the attempt to return to his wife and children at Meerut. If, indeed, I would but give him a letter"—I told him "*that* I could not do," but offered him a few rupees to get him out of the difficulty to which his

own folly had conducted him. He seemed grateful for the money, but still continued so importunate either for employment or a recommendation, to which he would not perceive that my ignorance of his character was any bar. that I was at length obliged to have him turned out of my tent by "the strong hand." Surely this is a sort or mendicant of which we have no experience in England !

In my evening's walk the old vakeel came out to meet me, and enquired which way I chose to go. I asked if any thing was to be seen in the city, to which he answered, with more readiness than his previous conduct had led me to expect, "that there were things worth seeing." We set out, therefore, towards the gate, over some very solid and well-executed works of stone for carrying water to irrigate the neighbouring gardens. I remarked to the vakeel the extent and apparent expense of these canals, and he told me that they had been made at the expense of the Maharaja's father. We entered the city by a solidly built arch of stone, with a strong timber iron-clenched door, secured externally by a rude earthen ravelin or barbican, and approached by a narrow stone bridge. The guards at the gate were not above ten or twelve, pretty nearly such peasants as I had seen in the fortress in Oude, with the exception of one sentry, who had on an old Sepoy's red jacket, got up, as I suspect, for the purpose of this visit. They received us not with the Mussulman salutation of "Salam Alicum," but with the Hindoo "Ram Ram !" a greeting which I had never before heard



except from the Brahmins in Benares, and from the lowest rank in some other parts of India. Here, however, we were in a Jât country, and the Arabic salutation would be unnatural. Within the gate nothing was at first visible but a narrow bazar with its usual accompaniments of mud huts, heaps of grocery, fat bunyans, scolding women, Brahminy bulls, and all uncleanness. But the Raja's chobdar led the way to what the vakeel told us beforehand was a fine flower-garden, and which certainly far exceeded my expectation. Through a narrow gate we passed into a small court-yard with a very handsome Hindoo house, of stone coated with marble chunam, in front of it, and were then led into an extremely pretty, though not large garden, watered by stone channels, conducted from a large chunam tank with several fountains round it. Some of the trees were of great size and beauty, and the whole place, though evidently uninhabited, was kept in substantial repair, and not the less beautiful in my eyes, because the orange-trees had somewhat broken their bounds, the shade of the flowering plants assumed a ranker luxuriance, and the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranate trailed more widely across our path, than was consistent with the rules of exact gardening. At the further end of the garden we found ourselves on the edge of a broad moat, with some little water still in it, surrounding an old stone built castle, with round towers and high ramparts of stone. From the side of the town which we approached in the morning, it had been only partially visible, nor did I then suspect the

existence of any thing of the kind, though I now recognised one of the highest turrets as having, on my approach to the gates, caught my eye over the mud walls; the water was low, and this part of the scene had a dull and melancholy character. We repassed, through a small, but elegantly-carved gateway, into the city, where we first saw two high arches, carved with gods and goddesses, erected, we were told, in order to hang swings on. A small college was then shewn us of religious mendicants, or "Viragies," and this concluded the list of rarities in Wuerh, with which I had been greatly interested, the more so, probably, because I had been in no degree prepared for them, Wuerh being at a distance from any great road, and its existence very little known. It is only lately, indeed, that this country has been at all visited by, or accessible to, Europeans; and Deeg, whose palace and gardens are compared to the finest things of the kind in Agra, though only two marches from Muttra, is in like manner quite a new discovery. Zealous Hindoos as the Jâts are, they seem to agree very well with the Mussulmans. Many of this latter sect live in Wuerh, and their priest, an infirm old man, a descendant, as he said, of Mahomet, came to pay his compliments to me, and to offer the usual salutation of holy bread and sweetmeats.

The Raja's chobdar desired and received his dismissal here, but the vakeel said he had orders to see me across the frontier at Peshawer. The chobdar had a handkerchief of printed cotton round his neck which was obviously of English manufac-

ture. I notice this because I had remarked few symptoms of our commerce having penetrated thus far for some time before, nor in so remote and secluded a district should I have expected it. I returned an answer by the chobdar to the Raja's letter, enclosed in due form in a Kincob<sup>1</sup> bag with gold strings, and with as large a seal as my Episcopal arms could supply.

*January 22.*—From Wuerh to Mowah is about sixteen miles. Nearly half-way is a large village, or small town, named Peshawer, very prettily situated on the side of a little rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit, and surrounded by trees partly planted in regular tops, partly scattered, as in England, over a considerable extent of arable and pasture land. There were some large herds of deer seen under the most distant shades, the fruit-trees near the village swarmed with peacocks, and the little rocky hills, through the soft fleecy mist of the morning, assumed a consequence which did not really belong to them. Peshawer, as a frontier town of this little monarchy, was guarded by a small body of suwarra, whose horses were picquetted under some trees in its market-place, and the men were lounging up and down in the usual picturesque groupes which soldiers generally form when off duty. They were tall, bony men, in short jackets of French grey, but sufficiently slovenly and irregular in their appearance. Their long spears, which were ranged before their

<sup>1</sup> A sort of gold brocade, very rich, and worn only by natives of high rank.—ED.

little guard-house, were the most military part of the show. There appeared to be also a custom-house, for a good many waggons loaded with cotton were drawn up in the street, as if to pay toll. The duties exacted from foreign commerce by these petty states, are, as might be expected, exceedingly high, and being farmed out to persons who are under no sufficient controul, the burden on the merchant is such as, in many places, to have put an entire stop to trade, and to all travelling, except of such persons as are either exempt from duty, or have nothing of which they can be plundered. A few, and only a few of the native princes, have, at different times, perceived their own interest in this respect. Whether Bhurtpoor belongs to the number I do not know, but a considerable trade appeared, from all which we saw at Peshawer, to pass through it. From Peshawer to Mowah the country was not so well cultivated, though still very tolerably so, and there were many plain indications that abundant rain had recently fallen.

Mowah, the frontier village of Jyepoor, has a large mud fortress with six bastions; and on the hill at about two miles' distance was another, and, apparently, a more considerable castle. We were now, indeed, in a country where, till very lately, a fort was as necessary to the husbandman as a barn in England. The incursions of the Pindarrees, it is true, did not often extend quite so far as we now were, but they were not unknown, and the army of Ameer Khân, as rapacious, as bloody, as perfidious as any Pindarree, was often, for months together,

in the heart of the country. The reputation of the Jâts for courage, appears to have preserved them, in part, from the worst of those horrors to which the Rajpoots, feeble and disunited, were exposed ; and now, even in Jyepoor, the family may go to rest in peace, and with a tolerable security against murder, torture, and violence. Still, however, in so low a state of society, it is chiefly to a man's own sword that he must look to guard his head, and cattle-stealing and highway robbery are hardly accounted crimes. At Wuerh we saw all the cows, sheep, and goats, carefully driven into the city about sun-set ; and here, and southwards into Malwah and the Deckan, as I am informed, no night passes but

“ The frightened flocks and herds are pent,  
Beneath the Peel's rude battlement.”

At Mowah we found a vakeel from the Rannee of Jyepoor waiting my arrival, with an escort of twenty horse, and a letter from Colonel Raper the Resident. From the vakeel we learnt that Sir David Ochterlony was still at Jyepoor, in high friendship with the Rannee, and occupying apartments in her palace ; and that the Rannee had obtained from the British Government all the points for which she had contended, and more particularly the recognition of her favourite as prime minister. The concession of such a point, after her outrageous conduct towards Colonel Raper, and after the positive appeal to arms which had

been made by both parties, is a sufficient evidence of the difficulties in which Government found themselves a few months ago. For me, however, it is fortunate, since, had the war continued, I could not have visited Jyepoor, and it is even probable that I should have found great difficulty in passing through any part of the western and southern provinces.

In the afternoon we took our usual walk through the town, attended by my silver-sticks, the Rannee's vakeel, with three or four chuprassees, the two duffuldars of our horse, the old Soubahdar, and the goomashta. I have no liking for all this train which, on this occasion, was even greater than usual, and had the additional effect of drawing after us two or three score boys. Still it is *dustoor*, and to emancipate oneself from it would require more trouble than it does to submit to it. The town is small, but has a tolerably good bazar, in the shops of which I saw cutlery, ornaments of gold and silver, and shawls, as well as the usual more rustic commodities of cotton, corn, and flour, ghee, and coarse cloth. Yellow seems the most prevalent colour for all garments in this neighbourhood, being the cheapest and most durable. The beautiful red and carmine tints with which we sometimes see the cloth dyed, soon wear or wash out, and are obliged to be frequently renewed, which is, however, done without difficulty. A pair of common blankets of the same colour and appearance, but coarser and thinner than those of England, cost one rupee and a half. I bought

them for my horses, the nights having lately been really cold, and Dr. Smith assures me that on the high level of Central India we shall find it cold all next month. In the course of our walk we passed a sugar-mill of good construction, with a stone to grind the canes.

This evening our good, careful, old Soubahdar had a parade of his men, and a general inspection of their arms. The musquets were all loaded and fresh flinted, and at night, instead of the usual three or four sentries, he made twenty men bivouake in two parties of twelve and eight to the north and south of our little encampment. I told him that I thought two additional sentries would be sufficient, observing that we were in a peaceable country. He shook his head, and said that it was never so peaceable, but that people ought to be on their guard; that the Raja of Bhurtpoor was a good friend, but that such friends as we were now with were all the better for being well watched. In short, he evidently did not much like his neighbours. I here dismissed the five suwarrrs who had been lent me by the Judge of Agra; the party of Colonel Skinner's men would find their way better home from Jyepoor, and I therefore still keep them. If there was danger, indeed, of which I see no probability, they would be far more to be trusted than the Rannee's horsemen.

*January 25.*—This morning, being Sunday, was a halting-day. Before breakfast I took a walk towards the rocks, and that more particularly on which the fortress stands which I have described.

I went alone by my express desire, but I was perceived and followed by the two orderly Sepoys, who overtook me before I had got half-way across the plain. I asked them why they came, to which they replied that "it was not fit I should go alone." Others, indeed, seemed to be of the same opinion, for before I reached the further village two of Colonel Skinner's men and the chobdar came running after me. For all this I am convinced there was not the smallest need, since, during the half hour that I was by myself, I had met some of the inhabitants, and found them perfectly civil and ready to answer all my questions. But when people give themselves trouble out of good will, it is impossible to find fault with them.

Thus reinforced, I walked through this village, which its people called Ramghur, to the rock on which their castle stands. This last, unlike the fort of Mowah, is built of stone, with six round towers, perched on a steep eminence, with a double embattled wall stretching down one side to a wall at its foot. I had no great curiosity to see the inside, but the Sepoys said they were sure I should not be refused permission, and even doubted whether the place was occupied. I climbed up, therefore, by a steep winding path, at first among cottages, then through the tangled branches of fruit-trees and underwood, and lastly, through some ruined outworks, till I came to the strong iron-clenched door of the fortress. This, too, stood ajar, but I no sooner put my head through it, than two or three men, who were lying down within, started



up in great confusion, and gave the alarm, on which ten or twelve more ran forwards and enquired what I wanted ? I asked if I might see the inside of the castle, to which the principal person answered with joined hands, and very respectfully, that he could not let any one enter without orders. The Sepoys began to remonstrate, and the " Killedar," (governor of a fort,) was evidently confused, and might, I have no doubt, have been prevailed on. But it was really very little worth while, and I did not like to expose the poor man to the chance of a reproof from his superiors, or to excite any jealousy of the people among whom we were, by expressing curiosity about their means of defence. I therefore turned round to go down the hill, on which the defenders of the fort shut their door with exceeding good-will, and I heard them drawing all the bolts one after the other. From the rocks, without the rampart, I had as extensive a view as I could desire over a level country, interspersed with similar little eminences, each, as well as I could perceive, with its village and its castle. The principal chain of hills runs pretty nearly north and south.

On my return, by a different track across the plain, I passed several wells, with oxen and men at work, drawing water for the fields. The vakeel met me half-way, and expressed concern that I had met with any hindrance in visiting the fort. He seemed, however, well pleased with the indifference which I expressed. The night had been very clear and cold, but after breakfast it again began to rain, and continued cold and drizzling the greater part of

the day. Soon after I had read prayers, the vakeel called to say that he would fine, or punish in any other way which I thought best, the Killedar and his men for repelling me from the fort of Ramghur. Of course, I told him that these people, not knowing who I was, did no more than their duty, and that I was not at all displeased with them. This, I suppose, satisfied him: indeed, I exceedingly doubt whether, if I had been fool enough to insist on their being punished, such chastisement would ever have been inflicted. I received in the afternoon a message from Colonel Raper, with some baskets of bread and fruit. The bread came at a very good time, as we were just commencing on a course of Hindoostanee chapatees, which are not a very good substitute.

A Brahmin, with a very large tumour on his wrist, came to ask medical aid. Dr. Smith said it would certainly kill him by degrees, unless his hand was cut off, to which the poor man readily agreed, and said he would follow us to Jyepoor, where Dr. Smith undertook to perform the operation, and I promised him two anas a day for his maintenance during the journey. He seemed very thankful to us both, and said he would bring his wife with him to nurse him and dress his victuals. He was much comforted too, by my telling him that there were many Brahmins in my party. Indeed I had no doubt that they would take very good care of him. It is pleasant to think that our halt this day in his village may have been the means of preserving his life, by encouraging him to apply for help.

The weather clearing up a little in the evening, we were surprised to see on looking out of our tents, a camp near us still larger than mine, with an elephant feeding under the trees, some carts covered with red cloth, a large double-poled tent, and a considerable body of horsemen with their spears planted in the ground, and their lean bony chargers tethered in two lines. On enquiry we found that the Maharannee had vowed a golden image to a shrine at Bindrabund, and that "his lordship the idol" (to use the expression of the vakeel, "Moorud Bahadur,") was going to his destination under the care of one of her confidential servants. The principal of the rutts, which had struck our notice, was for his conveyance. Some of "his lordship's" escort came up to say that they were to join me next day, and to be relieved in their present service by a part of the troops now in Mowah. The man who said this was a striking specimen of a Rajpoot chief, young and handsome, but dirty in his dress, boisterous in his manner, talking with a great deal of gesticulation, many winks, nods, beckonings and other marks of intelligence, and more than half drunk. All the Rajpoots are said to be addicted to opium, and the appearance of these men was far more that of robbers than soldiers, and strikingly inferior, not only to Skinner's men, but to the Jâts of Bullumghur. In the course of the evening some of them straggled into the camp, professing in the dusk to have mistaken it for their own, a blunder which occasioned a good deal of merriment to our Sepoys,

who, apparently with truth, ascribed it to intoxication.

In the course of the day I overheard a conversation among the people of the village, in which they compared the present peaceable times with those in which "Ameer Khân and Bappoo Sindia came up with their horsemen and spoiled all the land, and smote all the people, and burnt the cities through Meywar and Marwar, till thou comest unto the salt wilderness." I give their own words; but what struck me most of all, "corn," they said, "had been getting gradually cheaper, and notwithstanding the late unfavourable season, was still not so dear as it used to be in the years of trouble." When such have been the effects of British supremacy, who will refuse to pray for the continuance of our empire? Rain came on again as night closed in.

*January 24.*—We proceeded to Maunpoor, eight long coss, through an open sandy country. About half-way we passed a chain of hills at a place called Balaherry. The hill-tops are thickly studded with castles, some of them of a considerable size and extremely like buildings of the same kind in England. We passed no fewer than seven in the day's march. The rocks, where visible through the sand and withered herbage, are granite. To the west of the hills we found a plain similar to that which we had left, but I think rather more elevated. It is traversed by a river, now indeed completely dry, called Maungunga, but which from the width of its bed, must be, during the rains, a very considerable torrent.

The night had cleared up, and the morning was cool and bracing. The breakfast-tent had not been able to set out so early as usual, and we arrived on our encamping ground at the same time with the people. The spot fixed on was a dry elevated plain about a quarter of a mile from the little town of Maunpoor, without any trees, which at this season of the year are not required, but with a large well close to us, of the water of which the Sepoys took care to taste, before the place of encampment was determined on. The Rannee's horsemen again pitched by themselves, and close to the town. I had found them, during the march, civil and communicative, but so ill-mounted that they could hardly keep up with us. I asked their leader some of the usual questions about game, &c. He said there were many deer, but those of his caste never killed any. All animals, indeed, here seem to feel that man is not their enemy. The partridges repeatedly crossed the road close to our horses' hoofs, the deer raised their heads to look at the cavalcade, and stooped them down to graze again, and the peacocks were quite as tame as in a barn-yard. I would not, on any account, except real want of food, have broken this harmony, or injured this unsuspecting confidence.

Maunpoor is a small town on the plain, surrounded by a mud wall, with eight semicircular bastions, and a ditch now dry, but the works are in bad repair. If the present tranquillity were to last ten or fifteen years, it is to be doubted whether any mud forts would remain in the country, save

those which the old families of rank and feudal pride might still keep up as monuments of old times. Still there are every year quarrels among some or other of these Rajpoot nobles, and no season, I am told, has yet passed in which the troops at Nusseerabad have not been called out as peace-makers, or to inflict chastisement. This is not the case in Malwah, where Sir John Malcolm has established the territorial arrangement on so firm a basis, that not a musquet has since been fired there except against professed and public robbers.

About noon this day I had an unpleasant discussion with the vakeel, who would not authorise our mohouts and suwaris to cut boughs for the elephants and camels in the neighbourhood of the camp, but told them they might go to a wood six miles distant, which it was impossible for them to do. The men, in consequence, went to look out for themselves in the environs of a deserted village near us, and while thus engaged were attacked and beaten by some country people. I found that the vakeel's reluctance arose from the superstitious veneration which all over India is paid by the Hindoos to the peepul-tree, which was the only description of tree proper for our purpose in any part of this neighbourhood. I offered, if he would procure a supply of sugar-cane, meal and bran sufficient to feed the animals, to let the trees alone, but this it seemed the village could not afford. He said we might, if we pleased, cut the trees with the "strong hand," without regarding the murmurs of the villagers. But this was exactly what I wished

to avoid, and to prevent the necessity of which the Rannee had sent him to attend me. I urged that I did not require him, or any of his people to cut the sacred tree for us, but that I insisted on his sending a chuprassee with my people to acquaint the Rannee's subjects, that they were her guests, and acting by her authority. He at length yielded, and abundance of forage was brought in without further difficulty. But it is evident that our present guide falls as far short of the Bhurt-poor vakeel in honesty, good manners, and obliging temper, as he does in lofty stature and prepossessing countenance. He is of the "kayt," or writer caste, and I have seldom seen a face in which meanness and low cunning were more legibly written.

The night was clear and very cold, at least for the plains of India. A little after midnight two of the tattoos broke loose, and made their escape to the plain,—a circumstance the more vexatious, since their riders, my chobdar and sotaburdar, were, from lameness and age, unqualified for foot marches. I was obliged, therefore, to leave them behind with two or three Jyepoor horse to assist in catching their animals.

We ourselves proceeded (*January 25th*) to Doobee, six coss. The country has certainly very much deteriorated since we left the Bhurt-poor territory, though still it is not unpleasant to travel through; we continued at times to fall in with the bed of the Maungunga, on examining which more closely I saw that a stream still continued to force its way under the sand, distinguishable by the line

of verdure which its secret rills kept alive amid the surrounding barrenness. In fact I understand that by digging a few feet in the bed of any of these streams, water may usually be procured at all seasons of the year. Some of the Rannee's suwarra were now changed for others much better mounted and equipped, and the cavalcade was considerably more respectable, though Skinner's horse still kept up their decided superiority.

Doobee is a small town or rather village, fortified with more care and on a better principle than any I had yet seen. A few pieces of ordnance were visible on the bastions, and the place was calculated to defy the attacks of Ameer Khân and his whole army, and, if well defended, to require a regular siege even from European troops. The neighbourhood, however, from its nakedness, seems to have suffered severely from the Pindarries and other enemies, and the insecurity of property is sufficiently shewn by the fact, that during the two last days we have seen no scattered dwellings, and no village without its means of defence. Forage was not to be had here either for elephants or camels, but the vakeel, on whom my recent remonstrance seems to have produced some effect, had provided a good stock of "boosa," as well as of dried cow-dung for fuel.

The grass, when we set out this morning, was crisp with hoar frost, and my people complained that it was as cold as if they were still in Kemaon. I did not quite agree with them, but it certainly was cold enough to make our morning ride agree-



able, and to give an appetite for breakfast as keen as I ever felt in England. The kindness of my friends in Delhi and Agra had supplied us with an excellent stock of, what is called, hunters' beef, and we were supplied with some very fresh and tolerably well-tasted butter from the village,—a circumstance which I mention, because in Hindostan out of the large towns butter, save in the form of ghee, is seldom or never to be procured.

About 11 o'clock the lost poneys, to my great satisfaction, made their appearance. They had strayed to a considerable distance, and would not perhaps have been so easily recovered had they been very much worth stealing.

In the evening we walked to a pretty little Hindoostanee tomb about a mile off, consisting of an octagonal cupola raised on pillars, with a basement story containing apartments for a Brahmin and his family. A young man, whom we met near the spot, told me it was built, about five years before, in memory of a neighbouring Zemindar. This young man said he was himself a tradesman in the village of Doobee. Hearing my servants express some surprise at the number of fortified places in this country, he began to tell a long story about the horrors inflicted by Ameer Khân and the Pindaries of the Deckan, and seemed fully sensible of the advantageous change which had occurred. His dialect differed a good deal from the Hindoostanee to which I was accustomed, but I made out his meaning pretty well.

*January 26.*—This morning was extremely cold,

and the weather seemed to operate forceably on all my people. The Rannee's horse were none of them at their post when we set out, even Skinner's men were slow in mustering to attend us, and the Sepoys having found the remains of a fire by the way-side during the march, hustled all close round it, and allowed the camels to go on with no guard but a single havildar. I found it necessary to check the growth of these irregularities, and gave orders for the better arrangement and government of our little camp in future.

The country through which we passed in our march to Deosa, about six coss or twelve miles, was very naked and desolate, with no marks of habitation except some castles dotted on the distant hills, and one large village about a mile from our road, within whose mud walls a few trees were visible. The hills are of singular forms, most of them insulated and rocky, in size, shape, and steepness, a good deal resembling that on which Beeston Castle stands. The soil does not seem bad, but the land has literally been "swept with the besom of desolation," and the deer which we saw bounding among the low prickly shrubs, and the dead, whose tombs are scattered here and there, seem the natural proprietors of the territory. I should add, perhaps, the ravens, who are here seen in considerable numbers and of large size, though I do not remember to have observed them elsewhere. The country resembled extremely a large æstuary, but studded with rocky islands, whose sands were left bare by the receding tide; except the few thorny

shrubs I mentioned, which do not grow higher than common heather, not a blade of verdure was to be seen, and this defect, together with the presence of the rocky hills, sufficiently distinguishes these wilds from the green level steppes of Southern Russia.

Deosa is a rather large town, built on one side of a square table-like hill, with a sharp peak adjoining to it. The hill is crowned by a very extensive fortress, and there are various remains of antiquity, such as a large tank, now ruinous and dry and a good many tombs, which evince that the place has seen better days. From its name, "Deosa," or Divine, it should seem to possess a sacred character, and even now we found a considerable encampment of merchants and pilgrims, with flying chairs, swings, and other symptoms of a Hindoo fair or festival. It turned out to be one which I cannot find in the Calcutta Almanac, but which they here call "Pusund," and it was celebrated in the course of the day with a degree of glitter and show which I did not expect in a place apparently so poor and ruinous. Two little images of a male and female called, I think, Gungwala and Gungwalee, were carried wrapped up in a piece of Kin-cob, in a very gaudy gilded rutt, drawn by the people to an open tent pitched without the town. A good deal of drumming and singing followed, and the ceremony ended by pelting each other with red powder, as during the Hoolee. Mean time the usual traffic and diversions of a country fair went on; cakes, cloth of different kinds, and coarse trinkets were exposed in considerable abundance,

and a good many of the people whom we met in the afternoon had evidently either been drinking or taking opium. We walked through the town, which had a ruined wall round it, and contained one fine old pagoda, resembling those at Benares, several smaller ones, a Mussulman mosque, and some large and richly-carved stone houses, but all verging to decay. The ruin of the town, as of the rest of the country, was laid by the people on Ameer Khân, though they did not seem to have any accurate information about the matter, and owned that it had been always as it is now in their memory. Its dilapidation, I suspect, is of older date. There are some very elegant tombs without the walls, and altogether the place is one extremely characteristic of the ancient habits of India.

The images which we saw were taken back to their pagoda at night, and after a few days more of similar parade, were to be committed to the nearest river and sunk in it, where, being of unbaked clay, they soon dissolve. It is said that this is a relic of a hideous custom which still prevails in Assam, and was anciently practised in Egypt, of flinging a youth and maiden, richly dressed, annually into their sacred river. That such a custom formerly existed in India, is, I believe, a matter of pretty uniform tradition. But this practice of drowning images is not confined to the two figures in question, but is the case with all their idols, except a very few. Kali in her various forms, and the other many-handed, many-headed potentates, who are worshipped in Calcutta, are all of clay,

and all carried in like manner, after their festivals, to be absorbed in the holy stream, a custom which may seem rather to typify the inferiority confessed by the Hindoos themselves, of all their symbols to the God of nature, than to recall the memory of an ancient piece of inhumanity.

*January 27.*—This morning we marched eight long coss to Mohunpoora. In the way I had an opportunity of seeing some part of the magnificence which Dr. Smith had described, for we passed Sir David Ochterlony and his suite on his road to Bhurtpoor. There certainly was a very considerable number of led horses, elephants, palanquins, and covered carriages, belonging chiefly, I apprehend, (besides his own family,) to the families of his native servants. There was an escort of two companies of infantry, a troop of regular cavalry, and I should guess forty or fifty irregulars, on horse and foot, armed with spears and matchlocks of all possible forms; the string of camels was a very long one, and the whole procession was what might pass in Europe for that of an eastern prince travelling. Still, neither in numbers nor splendour did it at all equal my expectation. Sir David himself was in a carriage and four, and civilly got out to speak to me. He is a tall and pleasing-looking old man, but was so wrapped up in shawls, kincob, fur, and a Mogul furred cap, that his face was all that was visible. I was not sorry to have even this glimpse of an old officer whose exploits in India have been so distinguished. His history is a curious one. He is the son of an American gentleman

who lost his estate and country by his loyalty during the war of the separation. Sir David himself came out a cadet, without friends, to India, and literally fought his way to notice. The most brilliant parts of his career were his defence of Delhi against the Maharatta army, and the conquest of Kemaon from the Ghorkhas. He is now considerably above seventy, infirm, and has been often advised to return to England. But he has been absent from thence fifty-four years; he has there neither friend nor relation,—he has been for many years habituated to eastern habits and parade, and who can wonder that he clings to the only country in the world where he can feel himself at home? Within these few days I have been reading Coxe's Life of Marlborough, and at this moment it struck me forcibly how little it would have seemed in the compass of possibility to any of the warriors, statesmen, or divines of Queen Anne's time, that an English General and an English Bishop would ever shake hands on a desert plain in the heart of Rajpootana!

About two coss from Deosa is a good-sized village with a handsome old house belonging to the Raja, and a little farther, a very beautiful well or reservoir, ("boolee,") surrounded with cloisters, and with a handsome gateway of three gothic arches. It is said to be the charitable work of a merchant of Jyepoor, now alive. About half-way in the march we passed another low line of hills, with granite summits, and sand-stone valleys and sides, like that we saw yesterday, and succeeded

by another similar plain. It is easy to observe that we are rising gradually as we advance, the descent of the hills to the west never being so great as their ascent from the east.

Mohunpoora is a small and poor village, with a few scattered patches of wheat round it, but neither trees nor forage, while the neighbourhood had been so completely exhausted by the large party which had passed the day before, that nothing was to be procured either by money or expostulation, and the Rannee's vakeel either would not or could not do us any good. At length I sent one of the Sepoys, a Brahmin, and the elder of my two mountain attendants, to negociate with the Zemindars. On these occasions, a Brahmin is always the best messenger, since he may use what language he sees fit without danger, and, *ceteris paribus*, the people are always more ready to yield to his proposals. The man knew this well, and went therefore without his cloths, in order that his sacred string might be more conspicuous. This measure partially succeeded : about twelve o'clock some hay was brought for the horses who were fasting till now, and a very little fuel for the Sepoys who were equally ill off, their religion prohibiting them to eat victuals cooked on the preceding day. They conducted themselves with their usual patience and good temper, observing, of their own accord, that the poor people of the country were in want themselves, and could not spare to strangers. I found, however, in consequence, that they were all extremely willing and ready to make a long march the next day

to Jyepoor, in order to get out of this "hungry country."

In the night the camp was visited by a thief who crept in between the sentries, and got hold of the clothes of one of the tindals who was asleep on the outside of my tent. He was not so sound asleep, however, but that he felt the blanket as it was drawn away from him, and starting up, put his assailant to flight in an instant. In this case, probably, the robber was not very skilful or desperate, for strange stories are told both of their dexterity in stripping a sleeping man, and of the severe stabs which they give with their daggers if detected. Sir John Malcolm has a story of a play which he saw performed by some strollers in the Maharatta country, the plot of which consisted in the robbing a merchant of his goods, after being hospitably received by the treacherous Jemautdar of a village. After supper the merchant was represented as going to sleep with his goods all round him, and nothing could be more artful than the manner in which the thief made his approaches, gently withdrawing the shawls a quarter of an inch at a time, while at every slightest movement of the sleeping man his hand was immediately on his dagger. To guard against such surprises, I am inclined to believe that it is best to have no light in the tent, since, without some such guide, an intruder can neither find his way to objects of value, nor can well avoid making some noise.

*January 28.*—This morning was dusky and close, with heavy clouds, which however gradually



dispersed, and were succeeded by a good deal of wind. Our march to Jyepoor was one I should think of nearly twenty miles. The early part of it was over a desolate plain of deep sand, traversed by a nullah, the windings of which we twice fell in with. About eight miles from Jyepoor we came to a deep water-course, apparently the work of art, and with a small stream in it flowing from the hills to which we were approaching. Round its edge some little cultivation was visible, though nothing could exceed the dry and hungry nature of the sand which was under us and around us, and which now began to be interspersed with sharp stones and bits of rock. The hills, as we drew near, appeared higher and steeper than those which we had hitherto crossed, but entirely of rock, shingle, and sand, without a blade of vegetation of any kind, except a very little grass edging here and there the stony, ragged water-course which we ascended, and which was our only road. The desolation was almost sublime, and would have been quite so had the hills been of a more commanding elevation. The pass grew narrower, the path steeper and more rugged as we proceeded along it, and the little stream which we were ascending, instead of dimpling amid the grass and stones, now leapt and bounded from crag to crag, like a Welch rivulet. Still all was wild and dismal, when, on a turn of the road, we found ourselves in front of a high turretted and battlemented wall, pierced with a tier of arched windows, shewing us beyond them the dark green shades of a large Oriental garden. A grim

looking old gateway on one side, built close to the road, and seeming almost to form a part of it, shewed us the path which we were to pursue, and I was thinking of Thalaba on "the bridleless steed" at the gate of Aloaddin's paradise, and felt almost ready to look round for the bugle-horn suspended in the portal, when the English uniform appeared to dissolve the illusion, and Colonel Raper, who had good-naturedly come out thus far to meet me, rode up to welcome me.

On seeing him I at first hoped that we had already arrived at the gate of Jyepoor, but he told me that we had still four miles of very bad road before us. The rampart which we now passed is intended to guard the approach, and the garden which I mentioned is one of several attached to different temples founded in this wild situation by the same sovereign, Jye Singh, who built the city. Of these temples we passed through a little street, with very picturesque buildings on each side of it, and gardens perpetually green from the stream which we were now leaving, and which derives its source from a considerable pool higher up in the bosom of the hills. Our own track emerged on an elevated but sandy and barren plain, in which, nevertheless, some fields of wheat were seen, and what surprised me, some fine peepul-trees. This plain, which seems to have been once a lake, is surrounded on three sides by the same barren stoney hills, and has in its centre the city of Jyepoor, a place of considerable extent, with fortifications so like those of the Kremlin, that I could almost have

fancied myself at Moscow. The wall is high, with dentellated battlements and lofty towers, extremely picturesque, but with no pretensions to strength, having neither ditch nor glacis. Its security must, of course, depend on the forts by which the summits of the surrounding hills are crowned. But though these might ruin it and prevent an enemy from occupying it when taken, they could not save it against a spirited and well-directed attack from the plain. Nevertheless it stood a long siege from Ameer Khân, a fact which would prove that ruffian to be as bad a general as he was an adroit and merciless plunderer, had it not been suspected that he purposely delayed the assault on the town, both in hope of obtaining a large ransom, which would go into his own coffers, and in the fear that his men, if once enriched by the indiscriminate plunder of the city, would many of them disperse and leave him.

The trees with which the buildings are intermingled, and the gardens, which, in spite of the hungry soil are scattered round it, make up a very singular and romantic, or I might almost say, a beautiful scene. The Residency is a small palace, formerly a garden-house of the Raja's, and surrounded by a high embattled wall, within which is a good garden of most English vegetables and Indian fruit-trees. Water is every where to be found close to the surface, and with water even the most sterile tracts, in this climate, become tolerably fruitful. My tents were pitched in the plain before the Residency gates, but Colonel Raper had kindly

provided an excellent tent for me close to his door and within his garden, of which I gladly availed myself, both to get out of the way of the glaring white sand and dust of the Meidan, and also to enable Skinner's horsemen, who had no tents, to take shelter in mine during my stay at Jyepoor, an indulgence for which they were very grateful.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### JYEPOOR TO AJMERE.

*Climate—Government—City—Palace—Durbar—Presents from the Rannee—Revenues—Umeer—Lake—Great Palace and Fort—Death of the Soubahdar—Departure from Jyepoor—Manners of the Rajpoots—Children of the Sun—Salt Lake—Opium—Nuptial Procession—Message from the Rannee*

THE climate of Jyepoor is described as less disagreeable than I should have expected. The rains are never heavy, the cold months are bracing and healthy, and the hot winds, though fierce during the day, generally cease at night. The court and territory are in a very distracted state. The Rannee's new minister is hated by a majority of her subjects, and her authority, in consequence, is very uncertain through the greatest part of her possessions. The people into whose hands she has thrown herself, hate and fear the English, and a great proportion of her "Thakoor," or nobles, shut up in their mountain castles, pay no tribute, obey no commands, and declare that they will obey none till the young Raja, now a child of six years old, is placed on the musnud, and surrounded by a council, such as they can confide in. Though, therefore, the Rannee has in the present instance carried her point with our Government, and ob-

tained its concurrence to a ministry of her own choice, there is little probability of matters going on smoothly much longer between us, or even if the British were out of the case, of the present people being long able to hold the reins of government. Colonel Raper said that he could easily believe that it was want of power which made her vakeel fail in procuring us supplies, and in compelling the attendance of the horsemen, and he regretted to say that he did not know where to look for more serviceable troops, or a better proveditore. He advised me, therefore, to take on Skinner's horse to Nusseerabad, as my best dependance in case of need. Of any serious necessity for them, there was, thank Heaven, very little likelihood, inasmuch as, however unruly the country, they are all in awe of the numerous cantonment of Nusseerabad, nor was my present escort unequal to protect us from any ordinary plunderers.

*January 29.*—This morning Colonel Raper took me to see the city and palace, as well as to present me in Durbar. The city is a very remarkable and striking one. Being all the work of one sovereign, Jye Singh, it is on a regular plan, with one very wide street crossed at right angles by three others, with a square in the centre of the town, which serves as a market-place. The houses are generally two stories high, but some three and four, with ornamented windows and balconies, and many of them finely carved. They are interspersed with some handsome temples in the same style with those of Benares, and in the centre of the town

and adjoining the palace, is a very noble tower or minaret of, I should suppose, 200 feet high. The town is tolerably clean, but a great part of the houses are in a state of decay. Still, however, it has a population of 60,000 souls. The palace, with its gardens, occupies about one-sixth part of the city. It presents to the streets an extremely high front of seven or eight stories, diminishing in the centre to something like a pediment, and flanked by two towers of equal height topped with open cupolas. Within are two spacious courts and many smaller ones, surrounded by cloisters of stone pillars, except in the verandahs leading to the principal rooms, which are of marble. The gardens, which I was first taken to see, are extensive, and, in their way, extremely beautiful, full of fountains, cypresses, palm-trees, and flowering shrubs, with a succession of terraces and alcoves, none of them, singly taken, in good taste, but altogether extremely rich and striking. Two very large and handsome tanks terminate the grounds towards the north. The garden is surrounded by a high embattled wall, having a terrace at the top like that of Chester, and beneath it a common passage, (as one of the ministers of state, who accompanied us, told me,) for the Zennanah to walk in. I was introduced to some of these ministers, or "sirdars," during my progress through the palace, under their several official names of "Mouchtar," "Bukshee," &c. &c. Most of them were tall, good-looking men, in very handsome and becoming dresses. The whole establishment of the palace and gardens

seemed well kept up, considerably better than that of Lucknow, and every thing much exceeded my expectation except the military show, which was absolutely nothing. There were two or three police-men in the gate of the city, and four or five, (I do not think there were more,) lounging fellows with shields slung over their shoulders, and lances lying near them, in different parts of the out-buildings. I was surprised at so poor a muster among the warlike and turbulent Rajpoots, but recollected that in a country where every citizen and cultivator is a soldier, on ordinary occasions every soldier will be a cultivator or citizen. The Resident's suwarra and my own five men, together with a little guard of seven orderly Sepoys, who, as usual on state occasions, followed me, and as many of my servants who chose to see the sight, were permitted without scruple to attend us through all the garden and most of the lower apartments of the palace, till, on ascending to an upper story, those who had swords or other arms, were requested either to stay below or to surrender their weapons. The ascents throughout the palace are not by stairs, but by inclined planes of very easy slope, and certainly less fatiguing than the European style. The passages are all narrow and mean, and the object in the whole building seems more to surprise by the number, the intricacy, and detail of the rooms and courts, than by any apartments of large size and magnificent proportions. A great part of the windows are glazed with small panes of stained or plain glass in latticed frames of white



marble. The stained glass was said to be from Venice. These upper rooms, which are in fact a part of the Zennanah, have their floors chiefly covered with stuffed white cotton quilts, over which, in certain places, sitrings are placed, and, in the more costly rooms, small Persian carpets. There are very strong wooden doors in different parts of the building whose hinges and locks are as rude as those of a prison, but the suites of apartments themselves are only divided by large striped curtains hung over the arched doorways. The ceilings are generally low, and the rooms dark and close; both the walls and ceilings are, however, splendidly carved and painted, and some of the former are entirely composed of small looking-glasses in fantastic frames of chunam mixed with talc, which have the appearance of silver till closely examined. The subjects of the paintings are almost entirely mythological, and their style of colouring, their attitudes, and the general gloomy silence and intricacy of the place reminded me frequently of Belzoni's model of the Egyptian tomb.

After a long suite of these strange rooms, we were taken into a very striking and beautiful apartment, where breakfast was prepared for us. It was a small pavilion with arches on either side, opening into two small cloistered courts, the one filled by a beautiful cold bath about thirty feet square, the other by a little flower garden divided, parterre wise, with narrow winding paths of white marble, with a jet d'eau in every winding, to the number, I should think, of fifteen or twenty, which remained

playing all the while we were at breakfast. Nothing could be prettier or more refreshing than the sight and sound of these tiny fountains, though I did not think the effect improved when all at once several of the principal ones began to throw up water tinged with some yellow dye. It was evidently much admired by the natives, and reminded me of "the golden water," which, together with "the talking bird" and the "singing tree," cost the princess in the Arabian tale so many labours to obtain. For our breakfast Colonel Raper had sent the usual requisites, but the "Maha-Ranee," or "Ma-jee," (lady mother) as she is also called, sent us some specimens of Hindoo cookery, abundant in ghee, spice, and sugar, but without the garlic, which forms so essential a part of Mussulman luxury. I tasted one of the messes, which was of rice, raisins, and some green sweetmeat, strongly scented with rose-water, and seasoned with cinnamon, and thought it very good. The others were, apparently, kid or mutton minced small with rice, and covered with a very rich brown sauce, "a thing to dream of, not to tell," and which if eaten at night one should scarcely fail to dream of.

After breakfast, and till the hour of Durbar arrived, we visited more of the buildings. In passing along the garden wall, I ought to have observed before, we were shewn five or six elephants in training for a fight. Each was separately kept in a small paved court, with a little litter, but very dirty. They were all what is called "must," that is, fed on stimulating substances to make them furious,

and all shewed in their eyes, their gaping mouths, and the constant motion of their trunks, signs of fever and restlessness. Their mohouts seemed to approach them with great caution, and on hearing a step, they turned round as far as their chains would allow, and lashed fiercely with their trunks. I was moved and disgusted at the sight of so noble creatures, thus maddened and diseased by the absurd cruelty of man, in order that they might for his diversion inflict fresh pain and injuries on each other. Two of them were very large, and all sleek and corpulent.

The other apartments through which we were conducted nearly resembled those we had seen before breakfast. We had however, a noble panoramic view of the town from the top of the palace. Indeed I have seen few places of which a finer panorama might be made. From thence we returned to a lower court, in the centre of which, raised by a few steps, is a noble open pavilion, with marble pillars richly carved, rather inferior in size, but in other respects fully equal to the hall of audience in the castle of Delhi. The interior contains an oblong vaulted hall, surrounded by a very spacious verandah, and its pavement covered with sitringees and carpets, where we found all the ministers whom I have already mentioned, and some others, seated in a semi-circle. They rose to receive us, and the "Mouchtar," or prime minister, introduced to me those whom I had not yet met. Among these were the "Gooroo," or spiritual adviser of the Rannee, a man extremely blamed for all the outrageous and

absurd conduct which she has pursued, and a very remarkable person at whom Colonel Raper looked with some surprise, and whom, he afterwards said, he had never seen or heard of before. He was apparently a Mussulman, a very tall hard-featured man, with a dark and gloomy expression of face, which made me think of Captain Rolando in *Gil Blas*. His name I did not perfectly hear, but in conversation they called him the Nawáb. He was armed with a sword, shield, and dagger, all splendid in their way ; his clothes were handsome but plain, and his whole figure and equipment made me set him down, I believe correctly, as a Patan mercenary leader, for whom these troublesome times had obtained employment. The Mouchtar I had now a better opportunity of observing than before. He is a shortish man, but very stoutly built, with what I thought a good countenance and frank rough manners.

A very formal old gentleman, the marshal of the palace, now got us all to our seats. Colonel Raper in the middle, myself at his right-hand, and the minister and the Nawáb beyond me ; the rest were arranged on the left and behind us. We sat cross-legged on the carpet, there being no chairs, and kept our hats on ; I was mortified to find that the Rannee never appeared even behind the *Purdah*, though we were told she was looking through a latticed window at some distance in front. The usual questions, of how I liked Jyepoor, whither I was going, and when I left Calcutta, followed. The Nawáb talked a good deal, and seemed to be doing

his best to make a favourable impression on the Resident. I doubt whether he succeeded. For my own part the idea of Captain Rolando faded away, and was replaced by that of the bold Alsatian Captain Cullpepper. Some dancing-girls came in, whose performance differed in no respect from those whom I had seen at Bullunghur. Some very common-looking shawls, a turban, necklace, &c. were now brought in as presents from the Rannee to me, which were followed by two horses and an elephant, of which she also requested my acceptance. I looked round on Colonel Raper in some embarrassment, which he relieved by telling me that all was done according to rule, and that I should not be much the richer nor the Rannee the poorer for what passed that day. I of course, however, expressed my thanks to the Mouchtar in as good Hindoostanee as I was able. Mutual wishes were expressed for health, happiness, and a continuance of friendship between the Company and the Court of Jyepoor, and after embracing all the ministers a second time, we took our leave, mounted our elephants, and returned to the Residency, the Rannee's presents going in procession before us. Of these presents it appeared that the elephant was lame, and so vicious that few people ventured to go near him. One of the horses was a very pretty black, but he also turned out as lame as a cat, while the other horse was in poor condition, and, at least, as my people declared, thirty years old. Colonel Raper said, however, that these animals would do more than cover the fees which it would

be proper to pay the Rannee's servants, and which the Company, according to the usual practice, would discharge for me. In fact, the native powers understand perfectly well that presents of any great value are, on these occasions, thrown away. They have it published in the "Acbars," or native newspapers, that such or such a distinguished personage came to pay his respects at the Court of Jyepoor, and that the Rannee testified her pleasure at his arrival, by the gift of an elephant, two beautiful horses, and two trays of ornaments and shawls, and thus the ends are answered of making known the rank of the visitant, of setting forth the Rannee's liberality, and above all, of hinting to her subjects and neighbours, the good terms she is on with the British Government. But all these objects they are, of course, glad to obtain at as slight an expense as possible.

In the course of this day I had a good deal of conversation with Colonel Raper on the history and intrigues of this little court, the splendour of which had surprised me; but which in its morals and political wisdom appears to be on a level not much higher than that of Abyssinia.

The Rajas of Jyepoor were for a long time the most wealthy and powerful of all the Rajpoot states. Their territory is still the largest, and their revenue used to be reckoned at a crore of rupees (at the present rate of exchange less than a million pounds sterling) annually. They were generally on pretty good terms with the Emperors of Delhi, and though nominally vassals, they always preserved a state of

real independance of their authority. The Maharratta conquests blighted all their prosperity; the Raja was so much weakened as to lose all authority over his own Thakoors, twenty or thirty lacks was the whole amount of his revenue, and this was growing less under the almost annual scourge of the Pindarries, of Jeswunt Row Holcar, and, above all, of his General Ameer Khân. Even before the conquest of Lord Hastings, the late Raja of Jyc-poor had, as it is said, shewn great anxiety to obtain the protection of Britain, but from the jarring members of which his state is composed, it was one of the last which in any regular way acceded to the confederacy, the Thakoors keeping close in their castles like feudal chiefs, alike averse to any interference either of our government or their own, and chiefly occupied in making war on each other, leading plundering parties into the neighbouring states, and picking the bones which more potent devourers left behind. The principality was, in fact, in a state of anarchy as wretched and as bloody as Circassia at the present day, or England in the time of Ivanhoe, with the additional misery, that foreign invaders were added to domestic feudal tyrants. This anarchy has never yet been completely put a stop to in the remoter provinces, but it had in the greater part of the kingdom been materially abated by British arms and influence. The country had become safe to travel through, the peasants slept in their beds in peace, the Thakoors began to come to court again and pay their tribute, and the revenue had greatly improved, when the Raja

died, five or six years ago, leaving no son, but one of his wives pregnant and near the time of her delivery. This at least was said, though many of the Thakoors declared it was an imposition. A child, however, was produced, and its reputed mother became regent, chiefly by the influence of a man of high rank and respectable character, who is generally known by his hereditary title of "Rawul," and who possessed in a great degree the confidence of the English Government. He became Minister under the Regent, and the improvement of the country continued progressive. He, however, paid his nominal mistress but little deference, and she soon forgot the protection which he had afforded to herself and her son. Nor was this all. The Rawul had the misfortune to find out an intrigue between one of the Rannees and an adventurer from Rohilcund who filled some post about the palace. He banished the paramour, and the lady never forgave him, but has ever since been urging the Ma-jee to the most violent measures against him, in which she has been backed by the Gooroo, a very profligate Brahmin, who has always used his influence with the Ma-jee to bad purposes. Two years ago an attempt was made to get rid of the Rawul and bring in the present Minister, a Thakoor of extremely bad character, who had been very recently in open rebellion, and had stood a siege against a British force. Against his appointment, however, the British Government strongly remonstrated. The Rawul was maintained in his place and his opponent banished, till the evil reports



which prevailed last year in all these provinces respecting the situation of our empire, encouraged the Rannee to venture on the object which she had at heart. Her first step was to attack, with an armed force, the house of the Rawul in Jyepoor, and he very narrowly escaped with his life to the Residency. She then got together a considerable number of troops, put the city in a state of defence, and assumed so martial an air, that Colonel Raper, with his small force of Sepoys, his wife and children, and his friend the Rawul, found it necessary to retreat from the Residency to a position near Bancrote, about nine miles from Jyepoor. The Ma-jee seemed fully bent on carrying matters to the utmost length; she invited over her favourite, then living at Agra, and treated with much contempt the proposal made her by the Resident, that she should be at liberty to name any minister but that one who was so personally obnoxious. She found, however, that her force was less than she probably expected. The majority of the Thakoors were not so fond either of her or the new minister as to run any risk for either: many were personally attached to the Rawul, and, had they been encouraged, would have joined Colonel Raper's camp. The ill reports from Calcutta died away, and none of the neighbouring Rajpoot principalities appeared inclined to side with her, while the occupation of Mhow by the Bombay troops, placed a considerable addition of force at Sir David Ochterlony's disposal, and old Ameer Khân, who, though shorn of his ancient power, still occupies a considerable Jag-

hire south of Neemuch, made an eager offer of his services to the British Government to invade a country with which, as the hoary ruffian truly said, "he was well acquainted!" Colonel Raper, accordingly, did not think that she either could or would have continued to hold out; but Sir David Ochterlony, probably in consequence of directions from Calcutta, thought it best to give up all the points in dispute, rather than run the risk of a new war in Western and Central India. The Rawul retired to his estates and castles, and the Rannee, with her new minister, is permitted to try and govern the country, a task which she will probably soon be found unequal to, the favourite being, though a man of courage, of no character or talent, and the Rannee as ignorant and passionate as a child. She is now about thirty years old, of humble extraction, was not the principal wife of the late Raja, and had no children in the former years of her marriage. Under such circumstances it is probable that a short time ago a civil war would have arisen in Jyepoor, and it is certain that, in such an event, the Maharattas would not have been slow to take further advantage of their troubles. The chance now is, that the British will be called on to mediate between the parties; but before this takes place, some further mischief may be looked for. During the late scenes of intrigue and confusion, the Rannee's confidential Gooroo made a journey to Agra and Delhi, and Colonel Raper has ascertained that he drew large sums from his mistress, with the avowed object of bribing the prin-

cipal servants of the Company to favour her wishes. It is most probable, Colonel Raper thinks, that this crafty Brahmin put all the money into his own pocket; but, from what I have heard of the practices of the moonshees of public men, I cannot help suspecting that some of it, at least, has redounded to their advantage. At all events, it is painful to find that the natives of this country continue to think us venal.

*January 30.*—I read prayers and preached at the Residency, and christened Colonel Raper's little girl.

*January 31.*—I went this morning with Colonel Raper and Dr. Simpson, the Residency Surgeon, who, with Mrs. Raper, are the only European residents in Jyepoor, to Umeer, the ancient capital of this principality, till Jyc Singh built the present city in the plain. We passed through the principal streets of Jyepoor, being joined at the palace gate by two of the ministers whom I had met there the Saturday before, and one of whom was Killedar of the place where we were going to visit. The Rajpoots are not such shewy figures on horseback as the Mussulmans, or even the Jâts; these men rode well, however, and had fine horses, which, with their long red shawls, sabres, and flowing robes, as well as their numerous attendants, made up a striking picture.

We passed together through the opposite gate of the city, the uniformity of which throughout is very striking. My companions told me that it was laid out in quarters, or wards, according to the

rules of the Shaster; one being for the Thakoors, another for the Brahmms, a third for the ordinary Rajpoots, a fourth for the caste of Kayts, or writers, a fifth for the Bunyans, or traders, and a sixth for the Gaowalas, or cow-keepers, while the seventh is occupied by the palace. After leaving the city we proceeded by a wide sandy road, through a succession of garden and garden houses, some of the latter of which are very handsome, to the banks of a large lake, covered with water-fowl, and with a small island in the midst, on which were the ruins of a palace. The mere supplies the stream which we had passed in our way up the ghât; it has on this side every appearance of being a natural sheet of water; its banks are more woody and wild than any thing which I had seen since I left Kemaon, and the steep and rugged road by which we ascended the hill beyond it, contributed to raise my expectation of a beautiful view from the top.

This road led us through an ancient gate-way in an embattled and turretted wall, which connected the two hills, like that which I described on the other side of Jyepoor, and within we found a street like that also, of temples and old buildings of the same character, one of which was pointed out to me as the shrine whither the young Raja is carried weekly to pay his devotions, and another as the house where he puts up his horses and reposes on such occasions. Beyond was a still steeper ascent to a second gate, which introduced us to a very wild and romantic valley, with a small lake at

the bottom,—the crests of the hills on either side crowned with walls and towers, their lower parts all rock and wood interspersed with ruined buildings; in front, and on the margin of the lake, a small ruinous town, overgrown with trees, and intermingled with towers and temples, and over it, but a little to the left hand, a noble old fortified palace, connected by a long line of wall and tower with a very large castle on the highest part of the hill. We now descended the Ghât by a similar road to that which had conducted us hither, among some fine old trees, fragments of rock, and thickets of thorny underwood, till we reached the town, which almost entirely consisted of temples, and had few inhabitants but grim and ghastly Yogis, with their hair in elf-knots and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous, like so many ghoules, amid the tombs and ruined houses. A narrow winding street led us through these abodes of superstition, under a dark shade of peepul-trees, till we found ourselves on another steep ascent paved with granite and leading to the palace. We wound along the face of the hill, through, I think, three gothic gateways, alighted in a large moss-grown quadrangle surrounded by what seemed to be barracks and stables, and followed our guides up a broad and long flight of steps, through another richly-ornamented gateway, into the interior courts of the building, which contain one very noble hall of audience, a pretty little garden with fountains, and a long succession of passages, cloisters, alcoves, and small and intricate apartments, many of

them extremely beautiful, and enjoying from their windows, balconies, and terraces, one of the most striking prospects which can be conceived. The carving in stone and marble, and the inlaid flowers and ornaments in some of these apartments, are equal to those at Delhi and Agra, and only surpassed by the beauties of the Taje-mahal. My companions, none of whom had visited Umeer before, all declared that, as a whole, it was superior to the castle of Delhi. For myself, I have seen many royal palaces containing larger and more stately rooms,—many, the architecture of which was in a purer taste, and some which have covered a greater extent of ground, (though in *this*, if the fortress on the hill be included, Umeer will rank, I think, above Windsor,)—but for varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Umeer; and this, too, was the work of Jye Singh! The ornaments are in the same style, though in a better taste, than those of his palace at Jyepoor, and the size and number of the apartments are also similar. A greater use has been made of stained glass here, or else, from the inaccessible height of the window, the glass has remained in better preservation. The building is in good repair, but has a solitary and deserted aspect; and as our guide, with his bunch of keys, unlocked one iron clenched

door after another, and led us over terraces and up towers, down steep, dark, sloping passages, and through a long succession of silent courts, and dim vaulted chambers, seen only through coloured glass, and made more gorgeously gloomy by their carving, gilding, and mirrors, the idea of an enchanted castle occurred, I believe, to us all; and I could not help thinking what magnificent use Ariosto or Sir Walter Scott would have made of such a building. After all we saw only part of it. Higher up the hill was another grim-looking ward, with few external windows, but three or four elegantly-carved kiosks projecting from its roof, and a few cypresses peeping over its walls, which they said was the Zennanah, and not allowed to be seen; and above this again, but communicating by a succession of gates and turrets, was the castle which I have mentioned, grimmer and darker still, with high towers and machicollated battlements, with a very few ornamented windows, many narrow loop-holes, and one tall minaret rising above the whole cluster. The interior of this, of course, was not shewn; indeed, it is what the government of Jyepoor considers as its last resource. The public treasure used to be laid up here; and here, it is said, are many state-prisoners, whose number is likely to be increased if the present rule continues.

On returning to the stable-yard, our conductor asked us if we wished to see the temple? I answered of course "any thing more that was to be

seen," and he turned short and led us some little distance up the citadel, then through a dark low arch into a small court, where, to my surprise, the first object which met my eyes was a pool of blood on the pavement, by which a naked man stood with a bloody sword in his hand. The scenes through which we had passed were so romantic, that my fancy had almost been wound up to expect an adventure, and I felt, I confess, for an instant my hand instinctively clench more firmly a heavy Hindoostanee whip I had with me, the butt end of which would, as a last resource, have been no despicable weapon. The guide, however, at the same instant, cautioned me against treading in the blood, and told me that a goat was sacrificed here every morning. In fact a second glance shewed me the headless body of the poor animal lying before the steps of a small shrine, apparently of Kali. The Brahmin was officiating and tinkling his bell, but it was plain to see, from the embarrassment of our guide, that we had intruded at an unlucky moment, and we therefore merely cast our eyes round the court without going nearer to the altar and its mysteries. The guide told us in our way back that the tradition was that, in ancient times, a man was sacrificed here every day ; that the custom had been laid aside till Jye Singh had a frightful dream, in which the destroying power appeared to him, and asked him why her image was suffered to be dry ? The Raja, afraid to disobey, and reluctant to fulfil the requisition to its ancient extent



of horror, took counsel and substituted a goat for the human victim, with which the

Dark goddess of the azure flood,  
Whose robes are wet with infant tears,  
Scully-chaplet wearer, whom the blood  
Of man delights three thousand years,

was graciously pleased to be contented.

We were now taken down the hill, outside the fortifications, to some baths and summer-houses on the banks of the lake, which I should have thought pretty if they had not been much inferior to what I had already seen, and we crossed the lake by a narrow bridge, from the further end of which I made an attempt to sketch the view. Here our horses met us, and we returned home, all highly gratified, and myself not a little surprised that a place so curious and interesting should be so little known, not merely in Europe but in India.

In the course of our homeward ride Colonel Raper told me that he had had unpleasant news from the palace. The Rannee, the night before, without trial, or without so much as assigning a reason, murdered one of her female attendants,—a woman who bore a fair character, was possessed of considerable wealth, and believed, till lately, to stand high in her mistress's confidence and good graces. Her wealth was supposed to be her only crime. A great alarm had in consequence been excited in the Zennanah and in the city; and eight other women, chiefly wives and concubines of the late Raja, believed themselves also marked out for

destruction. This atrocity had been perpetrated by the Rannee's own order and in her presence, but Colonel Raper said if the Mouchtar had been himself any thing but a mere ruffian, he would never allow such practices to go on, nor would such an order have been executed had he been a likely person to resent it.

With this story on my mind, it was with any thing rather than a pleasureable sensation, that I received in the course of the morning a present of fruit, sweetmeats, and flowers, with the Ma-jee's best wishes for my safe journey, her assurance that her people had arranged every thing for my comfort on the road, and her hope that our friendship might long continue ! I sent back my grateful acknowledgments, which was no more than her due, for the kindness and hospitality she had shewn me, and an assurance of my prayers, though I did not add, for her amendment. I found to-day that her attentions had not been confined to me personally, but that she had sent an excellent dinner of sweetmeats, ghee, rice, kid, flour, and other Hindoostanee dainties, sufficient, as they told me, for 100 men, to be divided amongst my servants and escort.

I had intended to proceed the first stage, which is only eight miles, this afternoon, but was prevented by seven of my bearers taking fright at the reports they heard of the country to the southwest, and running off this morning. Seven more were pressed by Government order to go with me as far as Nusseerabad, and I told them that, notwithstanding the manner in which their services

were compelled, I should give them the usual pay for the journey. I now hoped at all events to get away on Tuesday the 1st of February, but was again prevented by a very dismal and unexpected accident. A little before five in the morning, the servants came to me for directions, and to say that the good careful old Soubahdar was very ill and unable to leave his tent. I immediately put on my clothes and went down to the camp, in my way to which they told me that he had been taken unwell at night, and that Dr. Smith had given him medicine. They had none of them, however, seen him since. I therefore wakened Dr. Smith to ask him what was the matter, and was informed that his illness was slight, and that he would be able to set off at his usual time. I thought it best to go to his tent, and ask him how he was, to which he answered that he felt well. I told him, however, that he had better remain quiet, and that his tent and bed might perfectly well go on in the course of the day. He answered in his usual manner, "Ucha, ghureeb-purwar," and I left him to see the camels loaded, and to give directions about the manner in which I wished the tents to be pitched at our next stage. Shortly after, seeing that there was some bustle in packing near his tent, I went up to bid the people make less noise, on which they told me they were acting by his orders, and that he had got up and gone to the other side of the camp, leaving directions to have his poney saddled. I was walking away to finish my own dressing when a man came running to say that the

Soubahdar was dying. As he was returning to his tent he had fallen down, and I found him in the arms of two of his men, apparently in a swoon, but making a faint moaning noise. I made them loosen the cloth which was wrapped round his head and throat, and bid them sprinkle his face with water, while I ran for Dr. Smith, who had been already alarmed, and came immediately. He opened a vein, and, with much humane patience, continued to try different remedies while any chance remained; but no blood flowed, and no sign of life could be detected from the time of his coming up, except a feeble flutter at the heart, which soon ceased. He was at an advanced age, at least for an Indian, though apparently hale and robust. I felt it a comfort that I had not urged him to any exertion, and that in fact I had endeavoured to persuade him to lie still till he was quite well. But I was necessarily much shocked by the sudden end of one who had travelled with me so far, and whose conduct had, in every instance, given me satisfaction. I really felt a kindness for him, founded not only on his quiet pleasing manners, but his attention to his duty and the confidence which I could always place on his word; and it was my intention to recommend him for promotion as earnestly as I could to his Colonel. Nor, while writing this, can I recollect without a real pang, his calm countenance and grey hairs, as he sat in his tent door telling his beads in an afternoon, or walked with me, as he seldom failed to do, through the villages on an evening, with his own silver-hilted sabre

under his arm, his loose cotton mantle folded round him, and his golden necklace and Rajpoot string just visible above it. Nobody knew him to be ill during the preceding day till just before bedtime. He had been with Abdullah and Cashiram to the city, to see a pair of shawls of which I meant to make him a present on our arrival at Nusseerabad, that being the usual, or, at least, the most gratifying return which a Sepoy officer can receive, and had been extremely delighted with the knowledge of my intention. He was of Rajpoot caste, and his name was Jye Singh, two circumstances which made a strong impression on the minds of his comrades, who said "it was a strange thing that he had just happened to die in Jye Singh's city, and on his return, after so many years absence, to Rajpootana." He left two sons, and a woman who was really his wife, and universally so considered, but who being of an inferior caste, could not be regularly joined to him by the Brahminical rites,—a circumstance which I rejoiced to hear, as it put the burning herself out of the question. He had left her and his boys at Seetapoor, but expected to meet them at Nusseerabad. Alas! how nearly had he arrived at the place where he looked forwards to a reunion with those whom he loved! His body was burnt in the course of the day, and I had an inventory made of his goods. This is the second death, and the fourth separation from illness which I have had to regret since the commencement of my journey.

The death of the poor Soubahdar led to the

question whether there would be still time to send on the baggage. All the Mussulmans pressed our immediate departure, while the Hindoos begged that they might be allowed to stay, at least, till sun-set. The reasons urged on both sides were very characteristic. The former pleading that the *place* was "unlucky," and that it was best to get out of it as soon as possible; the other that the *day* was unlucky, not only from the melancholy omen which had already occurred, but from its being Tuesday, which the votaries of Brahma regard as unpropitious for the commencement of any enterprise. I determined on remaining, not only as, in my opinion, more decent and respectful to the memory of a good and aged officer, but because the things being already packed up and ready to put on the camels, it would be easy to send them off at midnight, and run the two first stages towards Nusseerabad into one. I ordered therefore the men to unload their camels, many of whom had received their burthens; and my determination to remain was welcomed with the kindest hospitality by Colonel Raper, and with much joy by the Hindoo part of the establishment. During my stay at Jyepoor, Dr. Smith amputated the hand of the poor Brahmin, who had followed us from Mowah, and he was left in the care of the Residency surgeon.

*February 2.*—We set off at half-past five this morning; Colonel Raper went with me on his elephant as far as Bancroty, and I thence rode the remaining ten miles to Buggeroo, which I found rather a pretty place surrounded with groves of the

tara-palm, a rare sight in these inhospitable plains. Yet a great part of the soil which I went over in the course of the day is not bad, and the water is every where near the surface. I asked one of my attendants why there was no cultivation? and he ascribed it first, to the effects of the former troubles, during which no man dared plough; secondly, to the late drought, which had put a stop to all the improvements which had since been commenced. I got this information through an interpreter, for I had discovered before that the language of the Rajpoots is extremely different from the Hindoostanee. It is, I apprehend, much nearer the Sanscrit, but even in the words which are common to them and their neighbours, their thick pronunciation, making the "s" into "sh," or "dj," makes it very difficult for one who is not a proficient to catch their meaning.

The events of the morning proved that Colonel Raper's remonstrance on the previous misconduct of the vakeel and suwarra had produced its proper effect. The escort now sent with me were very attentive to their duty, and evidently picked men; indeed, I have seldom seen finer or taller young fellows than they most of them were. Their horses and arms likewise were good and in good order, but their clothes extremely ragged and dirty, and their wild riding, their noisy whooping and hallooing, and the air of perfect equality with which they were disposed to treat us, were remarkably contrasted with the profound respect, the soldierly calmness, and handsome equipments of Skinner's

cavaliers. I was, indeed, prepared to expect a much greater simplicity and homeliness of manners in the Rajpoots and tribes of central India, than in those who had been subjects of the Mogul empire, and, even at the court of Jyepoor, I was struck with the absence of that sort of polish which had been apparent at Lucknow and Delhi. The Hindoos seem every where, when left to themselves and under their own sovereigns, a people of simple tastes and tempers, inclined to frugality, and indifferent to show and form. The subjects of even the greatest Maharatta prince sit down without scruple in his presence, and no trace is to be found in their conversation of those adulatory terms which the Musulmans introduced into the northern and eastern provinces. Europeans too are very little known here, and I heard the children continually calling out to us as we passed through the villages, "Feringee, ue Feringee!" It was whimsical, however, and in apparent contrast with this plainness of speech, that the term "Maharaja," or Sovereign, is applied by them to almost every superior. "Salam Maharaja!" was addressed to me ten or twelve times in the day by passengers whom I met on the road, and my escort, though riding side by side with us, and laughing heartily at our inefficient attempts to make them understand us, never spoke to me without this title.

During the afternoon an alarm reached us of robbers in our morrow's march. Some tradesmen coming to Jyepoor the day before, had been plundered, and, as was said, some of them killed, and



the country people and travellers, in general, were afraid to pursue the usual road. The number of these marauders was so variously stated, that nothing could be ascertained, varying from one hundred to ten or twelve. We prepared ourselves for meeting them. The breakfast-tent and dâk-horses we sent on, together with double the usual detachment of Sepoys and all the Rannce's suwarrs, amounting to a dozen, who, wild and unsoldierly as was their appearance, were yet very likely to behave well in case of need. Thirty Sepoys formed our main body, and five our rear-guard, while I directed Skinner's men to remain with Dr. Smith and me, and arranged so as to keep our parties within a moderate distance of each other. Our whole numbers were likewise prepared for action, the Sepoys ordered to be primed and loaded, and the horsemen to have lighted matches. Abdullah, with much gravity, brought my own pistols, observing that this was a country where all who possessed arms should carry them. I had, however, very little fear that any of these warlike preparations would end in bloodshed, and was, indeed, chiefly induced to make them from the conviction that the robbers, if there were any in the neighbourhood, were well informed of all our movements, and that they would be little disposed to attack us when they knew we were on our guard. Mean time, I was surprised to find how the number of the camp followers had increased. Dr. Smith saw, in the course of the evening, two men fighting with their fists, an unusual sight in India, and on

enquiring into the cause, was informed that they were pilgrims going to Agmere, who had taken advantage of the protection afforded by our caravan, and had followed it with their wives and families, all the way from Meerut. And now at least a dozen, I had nearly said twenty, country people, women and children, came up, who had been detained on the road by fear of the plunderers, and hoped to get past safely in my train. In this hope they were not disappointed.

Next morning, *February 3d*, we performed our march in much peace, through a very wild and desolate country, overgrown with brush-wood and long grass, but on these accounts less dismal to the eye than the tracts of naked sterility which we had lately traversed. We passed two ruined forts, round one was still a village, and adjoining to it a large encampment of gypseys.

I endeavoured to learn some particulars of the recent fray, but did not succeed in any considerable degree. It seemed agreed that a good deal of money and silver ornaments had been taken from the traders; that these last made no resistance, but that, notwithstanding, several of them were beaten as well as stripped, but it was not true that any had been killed. The robbery had taken place between these two villages, in the wild country which I have mentioned, but who the assailants were, how many, and whence they came, nobody seemed to know.

After a ride of seven coss we arrived at Mouzabad, another rather large town, with a ruined wall,

a mosque, some good gardens, and several temples. The largest of these was called by the Rannee's suwarr, "Bunyan ka Mandur," the Trader's Temple, belonging to the sect of Jains, of whom I gave an account from Benares, and who are numerous in all the west of India, where they nearly engross the internal traffic of the country. This building was externally richly carved, and appeared, like that which I had seen at Benares, to contain several apartments; but we were not permitted to see the inside, though the suwarrs, without scruple, took us into the court, and up to the terraced roof, walking with their shoes on, in high contempt (as became the Rajpoot "children of the sun,") both of the tradesmen and their deity. I have no doubt that they would, at a word speaking, have made a way for us to the very sanctuary; but as the Jains seemed evidently in pain, and anxious that we should go no further, I thought it both uncivil and inhuman to press the point. A small, but richly-carved dome rises in the centre of this building, and beyond this again and, as I conceive, immediately over the image of Painnâth, three high pyramids of carved stone are raised like those of the principal temples in Benares.

*February 4.*—From Mouzabad we went to Hirsowlee, six coss, over a country little different from what we had traversed since we left Jyepoor, equally level, equally ill cultivated and ill inhabited. Being on my elephant the first part of the way, I saw to my right hand, at the distance of seven or eight miles, a large piece of water which I supposed to

be a part of the celebrated salt lake of Sambur, which supplies all northern and western Hindostan with that necessary. I could not positively ascertain the fact, however, at the time, because I had no natives of the country near me, being attended by Skinner's suwarrs. I asked the Rannee's people when we came up with them, but could only learn that they had not seen it, which on horseback they certainly could not do, and that it lay several coss out of our way. Our own course was evidently not a direct one, and I ascertained the cause to be that the Rannee's people were obliged to take us to those place only where there were crown lands, or where the Thakoor s were disposed to respect her authority. Of the gentry we had met several within these few days, generally seated in covered carts drawn by white oxen with gilt horns, and escorted by men armed with matchlocks and sabres. They saluted us courteously as we passed, but did not shew any desire to enter into conversation.

We had to-day also a proof, which I did not expect, that the government of Jyepoor was not quite without an army, since we met three Sepoys who said they were in the Rannee's pay, and that there were three battalions of them. They were in scarlet uniforms, so exactly like those of the Company's army that I should have had no doubt, had they not told us the contrary, that they really belonged to it. One of the suwarrs spoke very unfavourably of the Rannee's service. His pay, he said, was only four rupees and a half per month,

and even this pittance was often several months in arrear. He made shift, he said, to support himself, but his wife and children at home were starving. Dr. Smith asked him if he should have preferred the Company's service, to which he replied that it was a very good service, the best in India, but that he could not endure the strictness of the discipline, and above all the corporal punishment. None of his race, he said, could endure a blow. He who spoke this was a Patan from Rohilkund, but most of our other men were Rajpoots, distinguished by their strings and their badges of gilt metal, a sun and a man on horseback, which they wore round their necks in memory of their great ancestor the "radiant Surya," or Apollo.

Dr. Smith, in the course of the day, gave these poor fellows what they considered a great treat, that is, a lump of Malwah opium. All the Rajpoots indulge in this practice, and many to a great excess, but as the remainder of their food is so simple, and they touch no other stimulant of any kind, it of course does them less harm than Europeans. Our Rajpoot escort had now got into so high good humour with us, that nothing could surpass their attention and attendance, and though their style of attention was very different from the polished and profound respect of the Hindoostanees, it had so much apparent cordiality in it that I began to be much pleased with them. They reminded me of the Tchernomorsky Cossacks. They are certainly a fine-looking people, and their complexion the fairest that I have seen in India.

We walked at night about the town, which has a mud wall and fortress, with a very deep ditch. The bazar is large, but the principal object worth seeing is, as usual, the Jain temple. We were amused by the sight of a splendid nuptial procession, on account of the betrothal of the son of a neighbouring Raja to the daughter of a Thakoor. The little boy passed on an elephant, with a long array of kettle-drums, trumpets, and standards before him, as well as a very handsome palanquin, in which two brothers, still younger than himself, were conveyed. In his passage through the streets of the town, fire-works were let off at intervals, and all the roofs of the houses, as well as the ramparts of the fort were covered with spectators. The towns-people were very civil in securing us a good place, and seemed pleased with the interest which I felt in the show, and with my wishing the little bridegroom "good luck." They told me that he was to be taken for that evening to the house of his new father-in-law, where the ceremony of affiancing took place, but that he and the little girl were to remain for some years with their respective parents, when the second and real marriage would be celebrated.

In the evening I took leave of the vakeel, who, before he went, delivered a long message from the Rannee, expressive of her earnest desire that I would stand her friend with Government, and in which she sought to justify herself for her conduct in removing the Rawul and employing the present minister. She was anxious that I should take

charge of a letter from herself to Lord Amherst, and her messenger dwelt much on her great desire to have peace, and on the frauds and peculations of which, as she should be able to prove, the Rawul had been guilty. I told the vakeel that the Maharannee might depend on it, that the British Government had not the least desire, so long as she lived in peace, and governed her subjects mildly and justly, to diminish her authority, or lessen her son's territory. That I did not think such a letter as she wished me to take charge of could be of any use to her, as it was the custom of British governors to settle all matters of State in "Sudder" (council); and before Lord Amherst could read her letter, it must be translated, and by thus becoming public might do her injury, as giving offence to Sir David Ochterlony and Colonel Raper. That she might depend on having any paper which she chose to send through those two officers duly laid before Government; and that she had better draw up as strong a memorial as she could for that purpose. But in return for the civilities which I had received from her, and the confidence she had reposed in me, I begged leave to offer two pieces of advice: First, I had heard that she had laid out a great deal of money among different Sahibs and their servants, in order to gain their friendship and interest. I assured her that she was imposed on if she did so; that the probability was that the Sahibs knew nothing of the matter, and that she was only enriching their moonshees; but that, above all, there was no Sahib at Agra, Delhi, or elsewhere,

except Colonel Raper and Sir David Ochterlony, whose friendship and interest could be of any use to her. Secondly, I observed, that I had been informed she had ordered one of her female attendants to be put to death without a regular trial, and that others were in fear of their lives. I earnestly urged the vakeel to tell her that there was nothing which could do her so much harm as these rash and violent proceedings, since there was nothing which shocked the English so much. That if her servants did any thing worthy of death, it was good to bring them to open trial according to the Hindoo law, and before the usual magistrates; and that it was desirable at this time, to prevent slanderous reports, that whenever sentence of death was lawfully pronounced, her Mouchtar should state the circumstances of the case to the Resident. I was then asked if, when I returned to Calcutta, I would allow her vakeel there to visit me, and consult me about her affairs; to which I answered, that I should be always glad to hear of her prosperity; and I said also that when I next wrote to Lord Amherst, I would inform him of the kindness and attention with which she had treated me. I concluded with again advising her to place confidence in Sir D. Ochterlony and Colonel Raper, and to do her utmost to secure their favourable opinions. Having thus sent her the best advice I could, I gave the vakeel his present and certificate of good behaviour. I had been so much dissatisfied with him in the former part of the march, that, I believe, he had very faint expectations of either



one or the other ; so that nothing could be more profound than his bows and professions of service in taking leave.

*February 5.*—The horsemen attended me next morning as far as Bandursindree, a small and poor town in the little principality of Kishenghur, where we found some servants whom Mr. Moore, the Resident at Ajmere, had sent to receive me, and the Jemautdar of the village, who said he had orders from the Raja to provide every thing for me.—From Bandursindree to Kishenghur, was, I found, not more than eight miles, and as we had only come a very short stage this day, and as time was precious with me, I made arrangements for proceeding to Kishenghur on the Sunday. Had I been able to obtain good information of the road, I should have gone through, this day, the whole distance from Hirsowlee. I here dismissed my Jyepoor bearers, having received a powerful reinforcement from Government, through the kindness of Captain Burns, head of the commissariat of Nusseerabad, who, having heard of the desertion of my people at Jyepoor, forwarded twenty men to meet me. At Nusseerabad no ordinary bearers are to be hired, but the commissariat keep forty or fifty in their pay for Government service ; and the letters which Government had written concerning me, directed them to supply me with every assistance and comfort in their power.

*February 6.*—From Bandursindree we went between four and five coss to Kishenghur. The country half-way continued open and barren. After-

wards, without ceasing to be barren, it was a good deal covered by thorny trees; and at length we ascended a rugged chain of granite hills, which brought us to Kishenghur, with its walls of solid and substantial masonry, its castle on the mountain top, and its gardens fenced with hedges of prickly pear,—the whole something like Jyepoor in miniature. The tents were pitched in a stoney and dusty plain, but in rather a pretty situation without the walls, and enjoying a view of the Raja's palace, a large but rudely built fort on the banks of a fine pool of water, with a margin of green corn-fields, and a back-ground of bare and rugged hills. We found nothing ready either for ourselves or for our animals. The people, though civil, would furnish no supplies without the Raja's orders, and he had married a new wife the day before, and nobody dared to apply to him. The promises of payment brought, however, a scanty supply, and soon afterwards, about ten o'clock, a message came from the Raja in Divan, with his order to supply whatever was wanted, and an enquiry whether I wished him to call on me. I returned for answer that I had no design to give him that trouble, and that I intended to call on him at any time in the afternoon that suited him, adding, that it was not my custom to go out in the heat of the day, and that I was obliged to leave Kishenghur early in the morning. The messenger said he would bring me word immediately, but never returned, a circumstance which the servants ascribed to the Raja's having by this time dosed himself with opium. The result saved

me some trouble, and was only remarkable as being inconsistent with the modesty and simplicity of the first message. The Raja was described to me as a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six, of a dissipated character; his territory is small and barren, but his expenses must be very trifling, except so far as his many relations, for all his clan consider themselves as his kinsmen, are burdensome to him. At night he sent me some guides for our next day's journey, and some coolies whom I did not want; but, to my surprise, did not send an escort which I had asked for the horses, who were to be sent on half-way; he, however, afterwards thought better of it, since, when we set out, a dozen horsemen presented themselves, but too late to be of any service. The corn, in the neighbourhood of Kishenghur, I was sorry to see a good deal blighted, as if with frost after rain. We had had no rain which could have done any mischief, and this was the first blight which I had seen in Rajpootana. The soil is very barren, but water is found every where, so that, with industry and good fortune, plenty may be obtained. On these light soils, blight is, I believe, always most fatal.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### AJMERE TO NELMUCH.

*Ajmere—Remarkable Fortress—Muslim place of Pilgrimage—Encampment of Brinjars—Nasseeabad—Blotts and Charans—Captain Todd—Bootees—Bheel manner of fishing—Bheels—Rajah of Oodeypoor—Chittore—Anecdote of Ranae—Mable Tower—Night Blindness*

FEBRUARY 7.—We marched to Ajmere, about seventeen miles. The country was as barren as ever, but more hilly, and saved from a wearisome uniformity by clusters of thorny trees and thickets of the cactus. Among these we found a considerable number of camels grazing, and were passed by some irregular troops and some Sepoys in red, and pretty nearly equipped like those in the Company's service, who said they belonged to the Maharaja Sindia. What they could be doing here now that he had ceded all his territories in this neighbourhood and within a hundred miles of it, I could not conjecture. Dr. Smith, who put the question, had forgotten this fact, or would have asked them where they were going, and I, having supposed that they belonged to the Company's service, had ridden on before and did not hear the question or reply. They were all infantry; the irregulars had matchlocks, swords, and shields; the regulars only

differed from our troops as having, which our men frequently carry when on a journey, sabres in addition to their musquets and bayonets. The cactus or prickly pear grows very strong on these barren hills. Dr. Clarke in his travels through the Holy Land speaks of it as likely in certain latitudes to afford an impenetrable fortification, and I now asked Dr. Smith if it were ever used in the "bound hedge" of an Indian town. He answered that it was found very easy to cut down either with axe or sabre; and that nothing answered so well as a thick plantation of bamboos, which, though not prickly, are impenetrable, and can be neither burnt nor cut down without great loss of time and risque from the fire of the besieged. The union of the two, as in the fortification of Marapoor, which I have previously mentioned, would seem the best.

I was disappointed in the first view of Ajmere, which I had expected to find a large city, but which is only a well-built, moderate-sized town, on the slope of a high hill, or what really deserves the name of mountain. The buildings are chiefly white-washed, and the surrounding rocks have some thorny trees and brushwood on them which hide their barrenness, and make a good background to the little ruinous mosques and Mussulman tombs, which are scattered round the circuit of this holy city. Above, on the mountain top, is a very remarkable fortress, called Taraghur, nearly two miles in circuit, but, from its irregular shape and surface, not capable of containing more than 1200 men. It is, however, a magnificent place of

arms in many respects. The rock is in most parts quite inaccessible; it has an abundant supply of good water, in all seasons, from tanks and cisterns cut in the live rock. There are bomb-proofs to a vast extent, and store-houses like wells, where corn, ghee, &c. used to be kept, and, with very little improvement from European skill, it might easily be made a second Gibraltar. It is, however, no part of the policy of the British Government in India to rely on fortresses, and the works are now fast going to decay.

The main attraction of Ajmere in the eyes of its Mussulman visitors, is the tomb of Shekh Kajah Mowûd Deen, a celebrated saint, whose miracles are renowned all over India. The Emperor Acbar, great and wise man as he was, and suspected of placing little faith in the doctrines of Islam, made nevertheless a pilgrimage on foot to this place to implore, at the saint's tomb, the blessing of male offspring. The crowd of pilgrims who met us, or whom we overtook during the last three or four days, shewed how much the shrine is still in fashion; and in Malwah it is not uncommon for pilgrims who have been at the Ajmere Durgah, to set up a brick or a stone taken from the sanctuary, near their dwelling, and to become saints themselves, and have pilgrimages made to them in consequence of such a possession.

Nor are they Mussulmans alone who reverence this tomb. The Sindia family, while masters of Ajmere, were magnificent benefactors to its shrine, and my own sirdar and the goomashta Cashiram

were quite as anxious to come hither as if it had been one of their own holy places. I regret that I could not see it, but we were encamped at some distance from the city, and it blew all day long a dry north-west, which filled the air in such a manner with dust as to make going about extremely painful. I sate waiting in my tent in the hope that it might abate towards evening; but it only became bearable as it grew dusk, and the account which I heard of the tomb from Mr. Moore was not such as to lead me to incur any great inconvenience in order to visit it. My servants described it as of white marble, with a great deal of golden and silver ornament; but Mr. Moore said that, though rich, it was neither finely carved nor of any particular curiosity.

The Emperors of Delhi shewed favour in many ways to Ajmere, but in none more than in a noble fresh-water lake which they made just above the city, by damming up the gore of an extensive valley, and conveying different small rills into it. The result is a fine sheet of water now four miles, and during the rains six miles in circumference, sufficient in industrious hands to give fertility to all the neighbourhood. As it is, it affords the means of irrigation to a large district on its banks, supplies abundance of excellent water to the citizens of Ajmere, is full of fish, and would, if there were any boats, be an excellent place for sailing.

Mr. Moore lives in a small house fitted up out of a summer-house erected by Shah Jehanguire on the very "bund" or dam of this lake, and with its

waters beating against the basement. The building is prettily carved and lined with white marble, but a much meaner edifice would, in such a situation, be delightful. There is no flood-gate in the bund, nor does any water escape that way; whatever is superfluous being diverted right hand and left, and employed in agriculture.

Three coss west of Ajmere is a celebrated Hindoo temple named Pokur, which, from the remoteness of its situation from the more populous parts of Hindostan, is an object of much interest and curiosity with people from the east and the Deckan.

My tent was very nearly blown over in the hurricane of to-day, and every thing in it filled with sand, from my bed to my book-boxes and ink-stand. But, though longer in duration, the storm was not greater in violence than some which I have seen in Calcutta.

*February 8.*—We proceeded to Nusseerabad, fourteen very long miles, over a sandy and rocky plain, bordered on each side by mountains which would have been picturesque had they had a less bleak and barren fore-ground. The hills are now much improved in size; the little dells and stoney plains between their ranges are inhabited by a race of people called Mhairs, nominal Mussulmans, but paying no real regard to religion of any kind, and robbers by profession. Brigadier Knox told me that he had, on first coming into this district, a good deal of trouble with them. Sindia had never been able to tame them; and our troops found much difficulty in following them into their mountain



fastnesses. They were brought at length to ask for an audience of the General, and like the Puharrees of Rajmahal, whom they seem greatly to resemble, were easily conciliated on their being promised protection from their lowland neighbours, and obtaining an immunity of their lands from tribute. A corps of light troops has been raised among them to their great delight, and they have been both brave and faithful under British officers. Brigadier Knox apprehends them to be of the same race with the Bheels and the other inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India.

We passed a large encampment of "Brinjarrees," or carriers of grain, a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindostan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them if they choose from victualling their enemy's camp. Both sides wisely agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both. How well would it be if a similar liberal feeling prevailed between the belligerents of Europe; and how much is our piratical system of warfare put to shame in this

respect by the practice of those whom we call barbarians!

Nusscerabad is a pleasanter place than, from all the bad reports I had heard of it, I had expected. The cantonments are very regular and convenient, the streets of noble width, and there are a sufficient number of stunted parkinsoniæ about the gardens to save the view from that utter nakedness which is usually seen in Rajpootana. Many wells and two or three large tanks have been constructed since the English fixed here, but most of the water is brackish. Garden vegetables thrive well, though the soil is light and the rock is very near the surface, and I have no doubt that the peepul and many other trees would succeed if planted sufficiently thick in the first instance. They would be a great accession to the place, not only for beauty but for shade, for shelter from the bitter winds, and diminishing the quantity of dust, which is the chief plague of the station. In contradiction to all I had been previously told, I find that Nusscerabad is, even now, perhaps, the healthiest station in India; and the climate is pleasant at all times except during the hot winds. The rains in this parched land are welcomed as refreshing, and seldom are sufficiently steady to keep people at home a whole day together. The force stationed here is considerable, and I found a more numerous society than I expected in so remote a spot, and which had been represented to me in such gloomy colours. Fruit-trees will not grow here, but they have abundant supplies from Pokur, the place of pilgrimage which

I have just mentioned, and which is renowned for its gardens and vineyards. The grapes are by far the best and largest in India, and equal to those of Shiraz. Smdia still retains a house and garden at Pokur; so that it is probable his troops, whom we met the other day, were going to do duty there. The sanctity of the place is renowned all over India, but of its beauty and fertility I had never heard before. The country indeed of Rajpootana, as I was now given to understand, does not increase in sterility in proportion to its approach to the western desert. Captain Sandys, the Quarter-Master-General of the district, had travelled considerably beyond Joodpoor; and he described the whole province of Marwar as better soil and in a better state of cultivation than either Jyepoor, Ajmere, or Meywar, (the south-western tract, including Oodeypoor and Neemuch.) Marwar, indeed, escaped better during the troubles, as being farther off from the Pindarrees. The wells are very deep, and agriculture therefore expensive. The villages, however, were in a good state, the corn looking well and covering a large surface, and the cotton the finest he had ever seen. The oxen and sheep, also, give evidence of the goodness of their pasture, being the largest and most highly prized in all this part of India. A pair of good Marwar bullocks, fit for drawing a native carriage, and trained to trot, will be reckoned cheap at from 150 to 200 rupees, and those of Sind are still dearer.

The castle of Joodpoor, in which the Raja resides, Captain Sandys described as extremely mag-

nificent; and a drawing which he showed me fully confirmed his statement. It is as large as Windsor, less strikingly situated, and of more simple and solid architecture, but in many respects fully equal to its rival. It is strange to find such buildings in such a country. In England I should hardly be believed if I said that a petty Raja in the neighbourhood of the salt desert, had a palace little less, or less magnificent than Windsor.

During my stay at Nusseerabad I was the guest of Brigadier Knox, the oldest cavalry officer now in India, and who has not seen England since he was a boy. His house had as yet been the only place for divine service, but was not nearly large enough for the station. There was a ball-room of sufficient size, but objections had been made to using this as a Church also, which I soon obviated, and the place was directed to be got ready for Sunday. On the Saturday preceding I held a Confirmation, when I administered the rite to twenty-seven people, the good old Brigadier at their head. On Sunday I had a congregation of about 120, of whom thirty-two staid for the sacrament. This was an interesting sight in a land where, fifteen years ago, very few Christians had ever penetrated.

Timber is excessively dear, and all articles of wooden furniture proportionably scarce. When ladies and gentlemen go out to dinner parties, they send their own chairs as well as their own plates, knives, and forks, a custom borrowed from the camp, and very sensible and convenient. At Church also, every body was to bring their own chairs;

but as the soldiers had very few of them any thing like a seat, I begged that the ladies and gentlemen would send what supply they could spare for their use. A curious muster was accordingly made of all the chairs in the cantonment, but there were still more people than seats. The good nature with which my request was met pleased me extremely.

European articles are, as might be expected, very dear. The shops are kept by a Greek and two Parsees from Bombay. They had in their lists all the usual items of a Calcutta warehouse. English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country; and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing-desks, &c. at Pallee, a large town and celebrated mart in Marwar on the edge of the desert, several days' journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.

I here exchanged my escort of Sepoys, I believe, with mutual regret. They, as their commander, Colonel Thomas, told me, made a formal application to go on with me to my journey's end; and I, on hearing this, expressed the same desire. They were, however, wanted in their regiment after this long absence; and the more so because, without them, that regiment, in consequence of the numbers which had been distributed on different services, was almost a skeleton.

*February 14.*—I had intended to leave Nusseerabad to day, but my course was arrested by the

painful news of the illness of my poor baby. My first impression was to set out immediately, by the way of Saugor, for the Ganges ; but reflecting that at Neemuch I should receive further intelligence, and be better able to decide as to the propriety of returning, I resolved to go on ; Captain Fagan, the Post-master, having very kindly ordered one of the servants of his office to go with me, who was empowered to open and examine any Dāk packets which might pass us.

Accordingly, on *February* 15th, I quitted Nusseerabad, a place which I found so much pleasanter than it had been described to me, that I have, perhaps, thought too favourably of it. Its inhabitants, however, certainly spoke well of it ; and of them I have every reason to think and speak highly. I have not, in all India, met with a better informed, a more unaffected and hospitable society. We marched nineteen miles to Bunae, a good-sized town, situated at the foot of one of the ranges of mountains seen from Nusseerabad, with a little old castle on an adjoining rock, and a good many spreading trees round its base, which in this country are a very unusual and valueable ornament. The people of the place begged that we would not deface these trees by cutting them for our elephants and camels. A great part of the trade of their town, they said, depended on them, inasmuch as a *religious fair* was held annually under their shade. This was just over, and we had met during our march, a number of people returning from it. Of course I complied with a wish so natural, and pur-

chased, in consequence, 300 little bundles of maize straw as food for the three elephants.

The Greek shopkeeper of Nusseerabad, a Mr. Athanass, a very decent man, rode after me to this place to ask my blessing, being the only Christian Bishop whom he had seen since he had left Smyrna. He said he usually attended the worship of the Church of England, but had been ill on the morning of last Sunday. He had been sixteen years in India, had a brother, also a shopkeeper, at Meerut, and their family, he said, for two or three generations, had come out to make little competencies in the East, and had returned to spend the evening of their lives in their native country. He was very anxious to hear news from Greece, and I felt sorry that I had nothing good to tell him. I prevailed on him to eat some cold meat and drink some claret, but he would not sit down in the same room with me. Dr. Smith and I were lodged in an empty bungalow, one of several constructed along this road for the convenience of Sir David Ochterlony, but which all travellers may make use of. They are sorry buildings of stone, thatched, with no furniture, nor any better doors and windows than pieces of matting; they, however, save the trouble of pitching tents, and answer every purpose for which they were intended.

The Raja, or Thakoor of the place, who resides in the little fort already mentioned, is a child, and his mother sent to allege his tender age as a reason for his not calling on me. In the town, where we walked in the evening, are two very elegant little temples.

*February 16.*—We went to Deeoleda, six coss. It is a small shabby town, with a mud rampart and a ruinous castle. The soil apparently improves as we go south, but the country is sadly burnt up, and bare of every thing but thorny trees, which are pretty thickly scattered in some places.

*February 17.*—We proceeded seven coss to Dabla, a poor town like the last, at which we entered on the territories of the Ranah of Oodeypoor, and were met by one of the servants of Captain Cobbe, British Resident at that Court, who had prepared every thing necessary for me. I found here another letter from home, with a more favourable account of the infant, but a bad account of my eldest girl. Now, however, I must proceed to Neemuch.

All this country is strangely desolate; yet the number of tombs and ruins which we passed proved that it had been well inhabited at no very distant period. Oodeypoor was, indeed, the district which suffered most from the Pindarries, and from two of the chieftains who had the greatest influence with those horrible robbers, Bappoo Sindia, a cousin of the Maha Raja, and Jumsheed Khân. The only district which escaped, was the territory of Kotah, then administered, during the Ranah's minority, by the Regent Zalim Singh, of whose character and many virtues, an interesting account may be found in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India," and who, by firmness, personal popularity, and the able employment of very limited means, made his little country a sort of Eden amid the surrounding misery, and his



court to be renowned as an asylum for the exiled and unfortunate from every neighbouring principality. He died a few years ago, loved by his own subjects, and revered even by the worst and most lawless of his neighbours. During the time of Colonel Monson's disastrous expedition and retreat through these provinces, Zalim Singh offered to open his gates to his distressed army, and protect them during the whole rainy season, provided Monson would guarantee to him the British protection against the subsequent vengeance of Jeswunt Row Holcar. But he was incurable in his feelings of dislike and distrust towards all the natives of Hindostan. He would not so much as confide in the valour and loyalty of his own Sepoys, far less in that of a stranger ; and he had, perhaps, no authority for promising the alliance of his government to any native power so distant as Zalim Singh was from the *then* frontier of the Company. The generous offer of the Regent was, however, very properly remembered and rewarded when the British became paramount in Rajpootana.

A " Bhât " or Bard came to ask a gratuity. I desired him first to give a specimen of his art, on which he repeated some lines of so pure Hindoo, that I could make out little or nothing except " Bhadrinâth," " Duccun," and other words expressive of immense extent, and of the different parts of the compass ; the poetry was in praise of the vast conquests of the British. He only repeated a very few lines, and seemed unwilling to go on, on which one of the bystanders, a Dâk peon, reproached him for

his idleness, and rattled off twenty lines of the same language in high style, and with much animation, as a sort of challenge to an Amcebæan contest. He spoke so rapidly that I caught even less of his meaning than of the bard's before, but the measure struck me as very nearly approaching to the hexameter. The bard rejoined with considerable vehemence, and I perceived that, like the corresponding contests of the shepherds in Theocritus and Virgil, the present trial of skill would soon degenerate into a scolding match, and therefore dismissed both parties (according to the good old custom of Daphnis and other similar arbiters) giving each a small gratuity.

The Bhâts are a sacred order all through Rajpootana. Their race was especially created by Mahadeo for the purpose of guarding his sacred bull; but they lost this honourable office through their cowardice. The god had a pet lion also, and as the favourite animals were kept in the same apartment, the bull was eaten almost every day, in spite of all the noise that the Bhâts could make, greatly to the grief of Siva, and to the increase of his trouble, since he had to create a new bull in the room of every one which fell a victim to the ferocity of his companion. Under these circumstances the deity formed a new race of men, the Charuns, of equal piety and tuneful powers, but more courageous than the Bhâts, and made them the wardens of his menagerie. The Bhâts, however, still retained their functions of singing the praises of gods and heroes, and, as the hereditary guardians of his-

tory and pedigree, are held in higher estimation than even the Brahmins themselves, among the haughty and fierce nobles of Rajpootana. In the yet wilder districts to the south-west, the more warlike Charuns, however, take their place in popular reverence. A few years back it was usual for merchants and travellers going through Malwah and Guzerât to hire a Charun to protect them, and the sanctity of his name was generally sufficient. If robbers appeared, he stepped forwards waving his long white garments, and denouncing, in verse, infamy and disgrace on all who should injure travellers under the protection of the holy minstrel of Siva. If this failed, he stabbed himself with his dagger, generally in the left arm, declaring that his blood was on their heads; and, if all failed, he was bound in honour to stab himself to the heart, a catastrophe of which there was little danger, since the violent death of such a person was enough to devote the whole land to barrenness, and all who occasioned it to an everlasting abode in Padalon.

The Bhâts protect nobody; but to kill or beat one of them would be regarded as very disgraceful and ill-omened; and presuming on this immunity and on the importance attached to that sort of renown which it confers, they are said often to extort money from their wealthy neighbours by promises of spreading their great name, and threats of making them infamous, and even of blasting their prospects. A wealthy merchant in Indore, some years since, had a quarrel with one of these men, who made a clay image which he carried after the mer-

chant's name, and daily in the bazar and in the different temples addressed it with bitter and reproachful language, intermixed with the most frightful curses which an angry poet could invent. There was no redress, and the merchant, though a man of great power and influence at court, was advised to bribe him into silence; this he refused to do, and the matter went on for several months, till a number of the merchant's friends subscribed a considerable sum, of which, with much submission and joined hands, they entreated the Bhât to accept. "Alas!" was his answer, "why was not this done before? Had I been conciliated in time, your friend might yet have prospered. But now, though I shall be silent henceforth, I have already said too much against him, and when did the imprecations of a bard, so long persisted in, fall to the ground unaccomplished?" The merchant, as it happened, was really overtaken by some severe calamities, and the popular faith in the powers of the minstrel character is now more than ever confirmed.

I find that the European complexion and dress are greater objects of curiosity here than I should have expected; of both they see many specimens in officers travelling through the country, and their own tint is so much lighter than that of the people of Bengal, that my habituated eyes have ceased almost to consider them as different from Europeans. I can perceive, however, in the crowds of women and children who come out to see us, that Dr. Smith and I are lions of the first magnitude; and an instance which happened this day shews that

we are reckoned formidable lions too. A girl of about twelve years old, whom we met in our walk round the town, stopped short and exclaimed, in a voice almost amounting to a cry, "Alas, mighty sir, ("maharaja") do not hurt me! I am a poor girl, and have been carrying bread to my father." What she expected me to do to her I cannot tell, but I have never before been addressed in terms so suitable to an Ogre.

All the provinces of Meywar were, for a considerable time after their connection with the British Government, under the administration of Captain Todd, whose name appears to be held in a degree of affection and respect by all the upper and middling classes of society, highly honourable to him, and sufficient to rescue these poor people from the often-repeated charge of ingratitude. Here and in our subsequent stages, we were continually asked by the Cutwals, &c. after "Todd Sahib," whether his health was better since he returned to England, and whether there was any chance of their seeing him again? On being told it was not likely, they all expressed much regret, saying, that the country had never known quiet till he came among them, and that every body, whether rich or poor, except thieves and Pindarries, loved him. He, in fact, Dr. Smith told me, loved the people of this country, and understood their language and manners in a very unusual degree. He was on terms of close friendship with Zahir Singh of Kotah, and has left a name there as honourable as in Oodeypoor. His misfortune was that, in consequence of

his favouring the native princes so much, the Government of Calcutta were led to suspect him of corruption, and consequently to narrow his powers and associate other officers with him in his trust, till he was disgusted and resigned his place<sup>1</sup>. They are now, I believe, well satisfied that their suspicions were groundless. Captain Todd is strenuously vindicated from the charge by all the officers with whom I have conversed, and some of whom have had abundant means of knowing what the natives themselves thought of him.

There is a castle at Dabla, but much dilapidated. The Thakoor, its owner, is in disgrace, and has sought refuge at Kotah, where he now resides in exile; the supplies were consequently scanty and dear, and the elephants had to go a long way before any trees could be found for their forage. What was worse still, a good deal of altercation and re- crimination occurred, as to the question whether the money which I paid found its way to the poor peasants. Abdullah said, the Cutwal of the place had complained to him of its having been intercepted by the Sepoys, but the Cutwal has, in my presence, and in answer to my questions, declared that all had been received. On the other hand, Abdullah had been accused, by some of the Sepoys,

<sup>1</sup> The Editor is much concerned to find that this passage has given pain to a person for whom her husband felt the greatest respect and esteem. She is anxious therefore to remove any unfavourable impression which may exist on the subject by stating, that she now has the authority of a gentleman, who at the time was a Member of the Supreme Council, to say, that no such imputation was ever fixed on Colonel Todd's character.

of frequent extortion during our journey. So difficult is it to find out the real state of the case among a people in whose eyes a lie is not disgraceful, and, if an offence, a very venial one! A good many of the tradesmen and merchants of this neighbourhood are natives of Biecanere, a celebrated city in the desert, and generally return, when they have made a little money, to end their days in that place,—a remarkable instance of the love of country, inasmuch as it stands in one of the most inhospitable regions of the earth, with an ocean of sand on every side, and all the drinkable water in the place is monopolized and sold out by the Government. Aboo, respecting which I asked several questions, lies, as I was told, forty coss directly west of Oodeypoor, in a very wild and thinly-inhabited country. On every account, I apprehend, I have done well in not going there in this season of drought and scarcity.

*February 18.*—From Dabla to Bunaira is about sixteen miles; the country rather improves, at least it is not so naked, though the timber is little better than thorny bushes. Bunaira is a large walled town, prettily situated in the midst of gardens and fields, at the foot of a range of craggy and shrubby hills, on one of which is a very fine castle, larger than that of Carnarvon, and in good repair. The Raja, who resides in it, came out to meet me at the head of a considerable cavalcade; he was splendidly dressed, with a very glittering turban, a shield slung on his back, and a remarkably elegant sword and dagger in his sash. His horse was led by two

grooms tolerably well clothed; the attire of his silver-stick and standard bearers, and other servants was not in very good repair, and his own cane was carried by a naked boy of about fourteen. He was an elderly man, and had lost many of his teeth, which made it very difficult for me to understand him. This does not seem an usual infirmity in India, but the Raja's red eyes and eager emaciated countenance sufficiently proved him to be an opium-eater. On our first meeting we endeavoured to embrace, but our horses threw themselves into such offensive attitudes, and shewed such unequivocal signs of hostile intentions, that we could only touch each other's hands. I know not how Câbul's courage rates, but he looked as if he would have torn both the Raja and his horse into shreds. When our steeds were a little pacified, we rode abreast a short distance, and began a conversation. It is, fortunately, the custom in this part of the world for persons of very high rank to converse only through the medium of a confidential servant, and I gladly made use of this etiquette, using the Dâk Jemautdar, whose Hindoostanee I understood pretty well, as the channel of communication with the muttering old Rajpoot. The effect, however, of this procedure was abundantly ludicrous. "Tell the Raja Sahib that I am happy to meet him, and hope he is in good health;" thus rendered, "The Lord Sahib *decrees* that he is happy to see your worship, and hopes you are in good health." "Tell the Lord Sahib that I am in very good health, thanks to his arrival and *provision*. and that I hope he is well;" rendered



“ The Raja Sahib makes representation that he is very well, thanks to Huzzoor’s arrival” &c. In this way we talked on various subjects in our way to the bungalow, which stands in a grove of scattered trees and shrubs, at a little distance from the city gate. We passed the dam of what had been a noble pool, of probably 150 acres, but now quite dry, as was, the Raja said, another of equal size on the other side of the town.

We passed also the first field of white poppies which I had seen, a sign of our approach to the opium district. The bungalow commands a very striking view of the Raja’s fortress; on arriving there we alighted and embraced in a most affectionate sort, after which I conducted him in and seated him at my right-hand. A little more common-place conversation followed, and he took his leave. Soon after he sent a considerable present of sweet-meats, which I ordered to be divided among the servants and soldiers. The bungalow looked very desolate, and I took the precaution of having my mosquito-net put up as a security from the scorpions, which, in such buildings, sometimes drop from the thatch, and slept at night very comfortably.

In the evening we walked to a neighbouring hill, where we had another view of the castle and town; the former, we were told, had stood a siege from Zalim Singh of Kotah, who erected his batteries on the hill where we now were, but from whence his balls could not have reached the ramparts, and Ameer Khân had ravaged the neighbourhood without attempting the castle. It would doubtless be

a place of considerable strength even against an European army, unless they bombarded it, since there are no neighbouring heights which command it, and the rocky nature of the soil would make it very difficult and laborious to open trenches. But shells would, probably, soon compel a native garrison to surrender. A good deal of cotton grows round the city, and some wheat and barley, with several palm-trees, and the whole scene was interesting and romantic. Ruined tombs and mosques were scattered over the hills to a considerable distance.

*February 19.*—From Bunaira to Bheelwara is ten miles; the road for about four miles wound very agreeably through hills and scattered jungles. Afterwards we entered a plain, greener and better cultivated than we had seen any extent of country for many days; the cattle all shewed this change, and, notwithstanding the drought had extended hither also, were in a plight which, even in England, would not have been called actual starvation. At about seven miles we passed Sanganeer, a large town and celebrated fortress, with a good rampart, bastions of better construction than most I have seen, a glacis and ditch, which shewed signs of having been a wet one. The walls of the town were, however, much dilapidated, and we were told it had been sacked by Ameer Khân. Here I was met by the Khamdar, or judge of Bhularia, with a message of welcome from the Ranah of Oodeypoor; he was a very clean and respectable old man, with a numerous attendance of ragged matchlock men.

Bheelwara is a large town without any splendid

buildings, but with a number of neat houses, four long bazars, and a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate, but widely-diffused wealth and comfort than I had seen since I left Delhi. The streets were full of hackeries laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of wool-len, felt, cotton, and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron far surpassed what I should have expected to see. Here too, every body was full of Captain Todd's praise. The place had been entirely ruined by Jumsheed Khân and deserted by all its inhabitants, when Captain Todd persuaded the Ranah to adopt measures for encouraging the owners of land to return, and foreign merchants to settle; he himself drew up a code of regulations for them, obtained them an immunity from taxes for a certain number of years, and sent them patterns of different articles of English manufacture for their imitation. He also gave money liberally to the beautifying their town. In short, as one of the merchants who called on me said, "it ought to be called Todd-gunge, but there is no need, for we shall never forget him." Such praise as this from people who had no further hopes of seeing or receiving any benefit from him, is indeed of sterling value.

Though the country improves, the people, I think, are a smaller race than those to the north, and certainly fall very far short of the Hindoostanee Sepoys.

*February 20, Sunday.*—We were again obliged to go a short stage this day, in order that I might have, which is absolutely necessary, two entire days at Neemuch. I tried different ways of ar-

ranging the journey so as to secure our Sunday's rest, but it would not do. We began our march with a very melancholy omen. One of the Raja's soldiers, or chokeydars, for the name of soldiers they hardly merited, who had been sent from the town to take charge of the remainder of the grass which my suwarra had left, sate down on the parapet of a deep and broad well or "boolee," with a wide flight of steps down to the water's edge. Here he either fell asleep or was seized with a fit ; at all events he rolled over, fell at least forty feet on the stone staircase, and was dashed to pieces. He had no wife, but left two children, one a boy in service, the other a little girl, of eight years old. Her uncle brought this child to me in consequence of my enquiries, and the interest which I took in the business ; the poor little thing seemed hardly to understand what had happened, except that something dismal had befallen her father ; and her blubbered cheeks, her great black eyes, which were fixed on me between fear and astonishment, and her friendless state affected me much. I gave her money enough to burn the dead body, and leave her something over for her own immediate maintenance, and recommended her to the care of her uncle, who confessed himself to be her natural guardian.

These boolees are singular contrivances, and some of them extremely handsome and striking ; they are very deep square pits, about fifteen or twenty feet across, lined with hewn stone, and sometimes sixty or seventy feet deep. At the top is a pulley, as in a common well, by which water is

drawn from the bottom by oxen, but on one side is a long and broad flight of stone steps to the water's edge, and, with its approach, sometimes ornamented with pillars and a kind of portico. The steps are used both by people who desire to wash themselves, and by those who have not rope enough to reach the water from the surface, and the effect in going down is often very striking. They are generally full of pigeons, which build their nests in crannies of the walls.

Our road was through a country chiefly covered with open jungle to Ummeerghur, distant nine miles. A little short of this place we passed the river Bunass, now a dry channel with the exception of a narrow stream of beautiful and rapid water in its centre. It flows eastward, and falls into the Jumna. In the rainy season it is a very great river, and the suwaris told us they had never seen it so dry before. There is another river of the same name beyond the hills of Aboo and Palhanpoor, which falls into the Runn to the west of Guzerât, a circumstance which has led Arrowsmith into some great errors, in supposing these streams to rise out of the same lake and flow different ways.

Ummeerghur is a good-sized town, in the centre of which are three very pretty temples ranged in a line, and built on an uniform plan, with a tomb on their right hand, where repose the ashes of a rich merchant, their founder. A considerable manufacture of chintz seemed going on, and the place bore the marks of apparent prosperity. Above it, on a high rock, stands a castle, which was conquered

last year for the Ranah from a rebellious Thakoor. The Ranah, with 3000 men, had besieged it three months before he asked for the help of British troops. Finding, however, that he made no progress, he applied to the Brigadier at Neemuch, and two battalions and a few mortars settled the affair in little more than one day. This was told me by the Kamdar of the town, and confirmed with a sort of exultation by the Jemautdar of a troop of irregular cavalry, who, as his corps is under a British officer, and he himself had served in our army against Asseerghur, seemed to pique himself on being a British, not an Oodeypoor soldier. The Kamdar, together with the "Potail," or Zemindar of the neighbouring district, (who is here an officer strictly hereditary, and answering to the Lord of a Manor in England), called on me, attended by a number of men with rusty matchlocks, swords, and shields. The Kamdar spoke very intelligible Hindoostanee, and I thought him a sensible man. The Potail had the appearance of a venerable old farmer. The whole party, attendants and all, entered the bungalow in the unceremonious manner which Sir John Malcolm ascribes to the natives generally of Central India, and seated themselves on the ground in a half-circle round me, resting their hands on their shields. My servants were a good deal scandalized at this rustic plainness, but there was, evidently, no offence intended. On the contrary, nothing could exceed the attention which they paid us during the day. Fuel and grass were furnished on the most liberal scale, and they sent a stock of very fine fish,

enough to dine our whole camp, while all payment was steadily refused, except that I was, with some difficulty, allowed to give three rupees to the fishermen who had worked for us the greatest part of the morning. Of the fish, indeed, they were glad to dispose as soon as possible in any way which might offer. They were the inhabitants of a large pool close to the castle-hill, which appeared, in the rains, to cover about eighty acres, being then supplied from the Bunass river. It usually retained its water all the year, but this cruel season had already brought it very low, and in a month more they calculated that it would be quite dry. Accordingly all hands were now at work to catch the fish while they were yet alive, and people from the whole country round about had assembled, either for this purpose or to purchase them, a very large "rooe" being to be had for a single pice. Captain Gerard, an engineer officer who met me here, went to see the chase, and said it was very curious. The fish were pursued in the shallow muddy water with sticks, spears, and hands in all directions, but there was little execution done till four Bheels, in the service of the Oodeypoor government, made their appearance. The rabble were then driven away, and these savages, with their bows and arrows, made in a few hours that havoc among the fish which produced such plenty in the camp, singling out the largest, and striking them with as much certainty as if they had been sheep in a fold. The magistrates offered to renew the sport for my diversion in the evening, but, being Sunday, I did not

choose it. I saw the fishermen, however, who were the first of their nation I had met with; middle-sized, slender men, very dark, with frames which promised hardiness and agility more than much muscular strength. They were bare-headed, and quite naked except a small belt of coarse cloth round the loins, in which they carried their knives. Their bows were of split bamboos, very simply made, but strong and elastic, more so, I think, than those of buffalo-horn, which are generally used in Hindostan. They were about four feet six inches long, and formed like those of Europe. The arrows were also of bamboo, with an iron head coarsely made, and a long single barb. Those intended for striking fish had this head so contrived as to slip off from the shaft when the fish was struck, but to remain connected with it by a long line, on the principle of the harpoon. The shaft, in consequence, remained as a float on the water, and not only contributed to weary out the animal, but shewed his pursuer which way he fled, and thus enabled him to seize it.

§ We have not yet passed any Bheel villages, but I am told that we are getting into their neighbourhood: Bheelwara, indeed, though now inhabited by Hindoo and Mussulman traders, should seem, in its name, to retain the mark of its original population. During the period which is emphatically called by all the people of this country "the years of trouble," these savages were one among the many scourges which laid waste the fields, and made travelling a desperate adventure. The revival of the



Rajpoot Governments, and the better system of police which English influence has introduced among them, together with the aid which they receive on all serious occasions from the garrisons of Mhow and Neemuch, have put a stop, in a great degree, to these depredations; and the judicious measures of firmness and conciliation pursued towards the Bheel chiefs, who have had lands granted them tax-free, in order to bring them into regular habits, and have been many of them enrolled, like the Puharrees and Mhairs, in local corps for the defence of the roads, have gone far to make the savages themselves sensible of their true interests, and the kind intentions of the English towards them. Still, however, there are occasional excesses, though they are chiefly indulged in against the Hindoos. A few months since, one of the bazars at Neemuch was attacked and plundered by a body of the hill people, who succeeded in getting off with their booty before the troops in the neighbouring cantonment could overtake them. And there are, doubtless, even in the plains, many who still sigh after their late anarchy, and exclaim, amid the comforts of peaceful government,

“ Give us our wildness and our woods,  
Our huts and caves again.”

The son of Mr. Palmer, Chaplain of Nussereabad, a clever boy, who speaks the native languages very fluently, while travelling lately with his father and mother in their way from Mhow, observed some Bheels looking earnestly at a large drove of laden

bullocks which were drinking in a ford of the Bunass. He asked one of the men if the bullocks belonged to him? "No," was the reply, "but a good part of them would have been ours if it were not for you Sahib Log, who will let nobody thrive but yourselves!"

Captain Gerard, I found, under a very modest exterior, a man of great science and information; he was one of the persons most concerned in the measurement and exploring of the Himalaya mountains, had been in Ladak, and repeatedly beyond the Chinese frontier, though repelled each time, after penetrating a few miles, by the Tartar cavalry. He had himself ascended to the height of 19,600 feet, or 400 higher than Humboldt had ever climbed amid the Andes, and the latter part of his ascent, for about two miles, was on an inclined plane, of forty-two, a nearer approach to the perpendicular than Humboldt conceived it possible to climb for any distance together. Nothing, he said, could exceed the care with which Major Hodgson, Mr. Frazer, and himself had ascertained the altitude of the hills. Each of the accessible peaks had been measured by repeated and scrupulous experiments with the barometer, corrected by careful trigonometrical measurement, checked by astronomical observations. The inaccessible heights had been found by trigonometry, on bases of considerable extent, and with the help of the best and highest-priced instruments. The altitudes, therefore, of the hills, and the general geography of the provinces on the British side of the frontier, he re-

garded as about as well settled as human means could do it, and far better than the same objects have been obtained in most countries of Europe. The line at which vegetation ends he states to be about 13,000 feet. The mountains of Kemaon, he said, are considerably more accessible and less rocky than those which lie north of Sabathoo, where the scenery is more sublimely terrible than can be described. Yet Nundidevi, and the other highest peaks lie nearer to Almorah than to Sabathoo, and the scenery of both these situations falls short of the upper parts of the valley of the Alacanandra which flows between them. The more I hear of these glorious hills, the more do I long to see them again, and explore them further. But my journies never can nor ought to be mere tours of pleasure, and the erection of a new Church, the location of a new Chaplain, and twenty other similar matters may compel me to a course extremely contrary to what I could desire if I were master of my own time.

Captain Gerard had been employed some time in surveying and mapping this part of India, and was now for his health returning to the hills, having had a severe fever at Neemuch. He spoke of Jyepoor as the least hospitable and most unruly of all the Rajpoot and Maharatta principalities, and seemed rather to wonder that I had got through it so well, and met with so much general civility.

In the evening we walked to see the fort on the hill, which, though it looks extensive and showy from without, is within neither large nor interest-

ing. The only object of curiosity is a very deep well, the water of which is drawn up by a wheel turned by bullocks, but which, preposterously enough, is placed just without the main wall of the castle.

*February 21.*—From Ummeerghur to Gungrowr is a distance of ten miles, the latter half through a jungle of bushes and stunted trees, but with a very tolerable road, though not easy to find, on account of the number of tracks winding in every direction through the coppice. Gungrowr is a small town with a castle, perched on a rock at the foot of a range of woody hills. It had been described to me as only remarkable for the predatory habits of its people. Of these I had no opportunity of judging; to us they were very civil, and the bill for expences brought in by the chief of the place was very moderate. But the situation I thought the most beautiful I had seen since leaving the mountains. Our tents were pitched in a plain traversed by a small brook which, even now, was not dry, and bordered by a wood of some of the largest mangoe, saul, peepul, and banyan trees which I ever saw except at Ruderpoor, above which rose the hills with their rock, brushwood, and ruinous towers; and in spite of this burning season, the ground was so good, and the brook so abundant, that there was a very tolerable turf, a thing which I had not seen, I might almost say, since I left Bengal! I had a delightful walk in the wood as soon as the day grew cool. In spite of the ill reputation of the neighbourhood I left my train behind, and could often almost fancy myself at dear Hodnet. I be-

lieve this place did me real good, at least I felt better hope and heart after a half-hour's stroll, when I was joined by Dr. Smith, who agreed with me that, but for a few scattered palm-trees, the scene would have been entirely English. It would, he said, have been Scottish, but for the great size of the timber, which indeed I have seldom, if ever, seen equalled in our own country.

I asked the duffildar of the irregular horse if there were many groves as fine as these in our way to Neemuch, and was glad to hear that the country would become more and more woody and verdant as we advanced. The Jemautdar from Ummeerghur made his appearance again to-day. He had, indeed, promised to go with me as far as Chittore, but now apologized on the plea that news had arrived of a band of robbers having made their appearance near Bheelwara, the inhabitants of which place had sent to ask his assistance. He did not know the strength of the banditti, but said that with the ten men whom he had with him, he should not be afraid of charging fifty Bheels. I asked him if it were true that the people of Gungrowr bore so ill a character. "The same," he said, "as all the people in the neighbourhood; all had been thieves, and all would be so again if they dared. Bheels or Rajpoots, there was little difference." He was himself a Mussulman, a short, but very strong-built man, with a cheerful countenance and a good deal of energy of manner. He said there were 100 horse stationed in different parts of this district, under a Tussildar and himself, to keep the

peace. They had at first some troublesome work, but now things were reasonably quiet.

I had another countryman with me to-day, Dr. Gibb, late inspecting surgeon of this district, and just appointed a member of the Military Board, to take his seat in which he was now marching towards Calcutta. He is a cheerful, well-informed old gentleman, and gave me a good deal of additional knowledge respecting Central and Western India. The Mussulman jaghiredars, Ghuffoor Khân, Ameer Khân, and a few others, make better sovereigns than the Hindoo princes. Though remorseless robbers, so far as they dare, to all their neighbours, they manage their Ryuts better, are themselves better educated, and men of better sense than the generality of Rajas or Ranahs, and are sufficiently aware of their own interest to know that if they ruin the peasantry they will themselves be losers. Ameer Khân, like the saintly Woggarwolfe in Miss Baillie's "Ethwald," now that he can no longer carry fire and sword from Bhopâl to Joudpoor, is grown devout in his old age, dresses in sackcloth and ragged apparel, tells his beads, and reads his Koran continually, and is surrounded by Fakirs. He is extremely rich, but his army, except a few household troops, he was obliged by Lord Hastings to dismiss. To prevent the evil of turning such a horde of desperate men loose on the country, all who chose it were taken into the Company's service. But Ameer Khân would still have found, had his services against Jyepoor been accepted by Government, no scarcity of ruffians

and vagabonds to join the banner of so renowned a leader, and would in a few weeks have been again the old Patan general, the neighing of whose horses was heard from Gurmukteser Ghât to the hill of Aboo.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor has a large extent of territory and, in ordinary years, a singularly fertile one, were these people to cultivate it. But he was quite ruined and beggared by Bapoo Sindia and Jumsheed Khân. Half his revenues at least are mortgaged to shroffs and money-lenders, and his people are pitiably racked in order to pay the exorbitant interest of his debts. It has been the misfortune of his family to have been the oldest and purest in India; to be descended in a right line from the Sun without any debasing mixture, having resisted all attempts of the Emperors of Delhi to effect an intermarriage of the houses, and reckoning, I believe, in their pedigree, one or two Avatars of the Deity. In consequence they have been generally half mad with pride, perpetually marrying among themselves, fond of show and magnificence beyond their means, or the usual custom of Hindoo Sovereigns, and very remarkably deficient in knowledge and intelligence. The present Ranah adds to all these advantages a great fondness for opium. In consequence the revenue is collected in the most oppressive, and dissipated in the most absurd manner, and except in the large towns which have obtained, more or less, the protection of the British Resident, the country, Dr. Gibb said, has profited infinitely less than either

Malwah or the rest of Meywar, by the peace which it has enjoyed since the destruction of the Pindarees. Yet, in comparison with Jyepoor, the country is plentiful and thriving. Corn is cheap, and the number of beggars less than I have seen on this side of Delhi. And when the very unfavourable season is taken into consideration, I really think that present appearances may be well accounted for, without supposing any great oppression on the part of their government.

The late Thakoor, Bulwar Singh, who was shot, with his two eldest sons, about two months ago, in an affair with our troops at Boondee, was considered as the ablest man in this part of India. He was as restless, however, as he was active and daring, the untameable enemy of the British power, and the person who chiefly encouraged the Rannee of Jyepoor to brave that power. His mine, fortunately, exploded too soon. Conscious of his own intrigues, he refused to give any explanation of his conduct to the Resident of Kotah, fortified himself in his house, and fired on four companies of Sepoys who, by a fortunate chance for the Government, happened then to march through the country. Finding himself unprepared to stand a siege, he sallied out with about twenty men, among whom were his sons, and all three fell in the attempt to cut through the soldiers. His youngest son, a boy, has been allowed to inherit his Jaghire.

The weather is growing warm, though, as yet, by no means oppressive. I must expect some heat, however, before I reach Baroda.



*February 22.*—From Gungrowr to Chittore is between twelve and thirteen miles, a wild but interesting road winding through woods at the foot of some fine rocky hills. The situation of Chittore is conspicuous from a considerable distance by the high rock on which the fortress stands, and which from its scarped sides, and the buildings scattered along its crest, sufficiently denote its nature, even before the precise forms of the buildings themselves are distinguishable. There is a bungalow for travellers near the Bunass, but in a situation without shade, and too far from the city to answer my purpose. The tents were therefore sent on half a mile farther to a small stoney plain close to the town gates, and we followed them through a ford of the river, which in this place still runs with a considerable stream of very bright and beautiful water. On our left hand were the ruins of a long, lofty, and handsome bridge of eight gothic arches, and one semicircular one in the centre, with a ruined tower and gateway at each end. The ford was deep, with a sharp gravelly bottom, the road leading to it both ways extremely broken and stoney. Our encamping ground was near the bazar, and close to a fine boolee, but had no other advantages, being rocky and strewed with rubbish and fragments of buildings, with only a single tree. It was made, too, more uncomfortable by the neighbourhood of a poor mad woman, who had taken up her abode under a little shed just long enough and high enough to shelter her as she lay on her back, covered with a ragged cloth, and raving and lament-

ing, as we are told, and as I had good reason to believe, night and day. I gave her a little relief, as many others in the camp did, but she went on in the same tone, and with the same fluency. Dr. Smith offered to supply her with opium if she ever took it, but she answered "No," and went on as before, or rather worse. At last a Sepoy said he would break her head if she did not hold her tongue, which quieted her for a few minutes, when she broke out again. He did not, however, put his threat into execution, nor do I believe he ever intended to do so : on the contrary, all the people called her a "Moonee," or inspired person, and treated her, if not with respect, at least with forbearance.

The Kamdar of the town, a very well-mannered man, in a splendid dress, called on me, and offered to conduct me to see the castle, which was a great favour, as it is a thing of which they are very jealous, and which probably not ten Europeans had seen out of all the number who have visited and lived in India. I proposed accompanying him at four in the evening, but he begged it might not be later than three, and that we would come on horseback, since it was, he said, nearly two coss to the top of the hill. We accordingly joined the Thakoor in the market-place of the little old city, where he was already mounted and ready to accompany us. Chittore was once the capital of this principality, and is still what would be called in England a tolerably large market-town, with a good many pagodas, and a meanly-built, but, apparently, busy

bazar. The population seem chiefly weavers and dealers in grain. The fortress rises immediately above the town, and extends for a considerable distance to the right and left of it. The rock, where not naturally precipitous, has been scarped by art all round the summit to the height of from eighty to 120 feet, and is surmounted by a rude wall with semicircular bastions, enclosing, as our guide the Thakoor assured us, a circuit of six coss, or twelve miles. Of course it does not contain an area proportionate to this circumference, since the form is extremely irregular, and the ridge of the hill in many places narrow. But the length I can easily believe to be above two coss, and the measurement of the wall is, probably, not much exaggerated. The approach is by a zig-zag road, of very easy slope, but stoney and in bad repair, passing under six gateways with traverses and rude out-works, before we arrive at the main entrance of the castle. The whole face of the hill, except the precipice, is covered with trees and brushwood, and the approach is therefore very picturesque and interesting. It is certainly, however, not two coss in gradual ascent, though it may perhaps be not far short of one. In advance of the castle gate is an out-work, or barbican, with a colonnade internally of octagonal pillars and carved imposts, supporting a flat terrace, and with a hall in the interior, which our guide pointed out to us as resembling the hall of audience at Delhi! If he had said the Emperor's stables, he would have been nearer the truth, but I did not think it necessary to contradict him.

The gateway itself is very lofty and striking, with a good deal of carving, in the genuine style of ancient Hindoo architecture, with no Mussulman intermixture, and more nearly resembling the Egyptian than any thing I have seen since my arrival in this country. On entering, we first passed through a small street of very ancient and singular temples, then through a narrow and mean bazar, then, and so long as day-light lasted, through a succession of most extraordinary and interesting buildings, chiefly ruinous, but some still in good repair. The temples were the most numerous, none of them large, but several extremely solemn and beautiful. There were two or three little old palaces, chiefly remarkable for the profusion of carving bestowed on rooms of very small dimensions, and arranged with no more regard to convenience than a common prison. One of these, which is seated on a rock in the midst of a large pool, was pointed out as the residence of a very beautiful Rannee, whose fame induced the Emperor Acbar to demand her in marriage, and, on her father's refusal, to lay siege to Chittore, like another Agramant, in order to win the hand of this Eastern Angelica. After a long siege he succeeded in undermining a part of the wall, on which the princess in question persuaded all her country-women in the garrison to retire with her and her children into this palace, where they were, at their own desire, suffocated with the smoke of fuel heaped up in the lower apartments, only two remaining alive. The garrison then sallied out on the enemy, and all died fighting despe-

rately, neither giving nor accepting quarter. The two female survivors of the carnage were found by Acbar, and given in marriage to two of his officers. I give this story as I heard it from the Thakoor Mytee Motee Ram. With the exception of the romantic cause assigned for Acbar's invasion of Oodeypoor, it is indeed "an ower true tale," the horrible circumstances of which may be found in Dow's History of Hindostan. It is extremely probable that there may have been some one high-spirited princess who urged her companions to submit cheerfully to slaughter, rather than to the wretched lot of female captives; but it is certain that all the women and children were slaughtered nearly in the manner described, which, in the blood-stained history of India, was of no uncommon occurrence, and known by the technical term of "Joar," being an act of devotion to Kali, to which men had recourse in the last extremity.

The palace on the lake, has, however, no appearance of having suffered by fire, though the ruins of a long range of apartments to the north of the lake may very probably have been the scene of this sacrifice, and in this, perhaps, I may have misunderstood my informant. Just above, and on the crest of the hill, as if connected with this event, stands the largest temple in the fort, dedicated to the destroying powers, with the trident of Siva in front, and within, lighted by some lamps, in its furthest dark recess, a frightful figure of the blood-drinking goddess, with her lion, her many hands full of weapons, and a chaplet of skulls. A tyger's skin was

stretched before her, and the pavement was stained with the blood of sacrifices from one end to the other. On one side, on a red cloth, sate three Brahmins, the principal of whom, a very handsome man of about thirty-five, was blind, and seemed to be treated by the other two, and by all the bystanders, with great deference. On my entering the temple, which is very beautiful, I gave a rupee to the Brahmin next me, who with a very humble obeisance laid it at the foot of his superior, telling him at the same time that it was the gift of a "be-lattee Raja." He took no notice, however, of either it or me, merely raising his calm melancholy face and sightless eyes at the sound of my voice, and again turning them towards the shrine, while he kept telling the beads of his rosary. A large peepul grows in the court of the temple, and there are many others scattered on different parts of the hill. In this and all the other temples, I was much struck with the admirable masonry and judicious construction of the domes which covered them, as well as with the very solemn effect produced by their style of architecture. A Gothic or Grecian building of the same size would merely have been beautiful, but these, small as they are, are awful; the reason of which may be found in the low and massive proportion of their pillars, in the strong shadow thrown by their projecting cornices and unpierced domes, in the long flights of steps leading to them, which give a consequence to structures of very moderate dimensions, and in the character of their ornaments, which consist either of mytho-

logical bas-reliefs, on a very minute scale, so as to make the buildings on which they are found seem larger, or in an endless repetition and continuation of a few very simple forms, so as to give the idea of a sort of infinity. The general construction of all these buildings is the same, a small court-yard, a portico, a square open building supported by pillars and surmounted by a dome, and behind this a close square shrine, surmounted by an ornamented pyramid. One, and one only, of the buildings on the hill struck me as a Mussulman erection, and on enquiring who built it, I was told it really was the work of Azcem Ushân, son of Aurengzebe, who also was fortunate enough to take Chittore, and who called this building "Futteh Muhul" (Victory Hall). It is singular that such a trophy should have been allowed to stand when the Hindoos recovered the place. Though uninhabited and falling to decay, it is still tolerably entire.

There are, besides the pool which I have already noticed, many beautiful pools, cisterns, and wells, in different parts of this extraordinary hill, amounting, as we were assured, to eighty-four, of which, however, in the present singularly dry season, only twelve have water. One of these last cut in the solid rock, and fed by a beautiful spring with a little temple over it, is a most picturesque and romantic spot. It has high rocks on three sides, crowned with temples and trees; on the fourth are some old buildings, also of a religious character, erected on the edge of the precipice which surrounds the castle, a long flight of rock-hewn steps leads down to the

surface of the water, and the whole place breathes coolness, seclusion, and solemnity. Below the edge of the precipice, and with their foliage just rising above it, grow two or three plantains of a very large size, which were pointed out to me as great curiosities. The Kamdar assured me that they were 300 years old, and that they every year produced excellent fruit, though, as he truly said, there could be very little earth on the ledge where they were rooted. They probably derive moisture from the water filtering through the rampart, which here forms a dam to the pool. For their great age—I have only his authority.

The most extraordinary buildings in Chittore are two minarets or tower temples, dedicated to Siva. The smaller of these we only saw from a distance, and were told it was now ruinous; the largest, which resembles it in form, is a square tower nine stories high, of white marble most elaborately carved, surmounted by a cupola, and the two highest stories projecting, balcony-wise, beyond those beneath them, so that it stands on its smaller end. There is a steep and narrow but safe staircase of marble within, conducting to seven small and two large apartments, all richly and delicately carved with mythological figures, of which the most conspicuous and most frequently repeated are, Siva embracing Parvati, and Siva in his character of destroyer, with a monstrous Cobra de Capello in each hand. Our guides said that the building was 500 years old, but from its beautiful state of preservation, I should not suppose it half that age. It is,

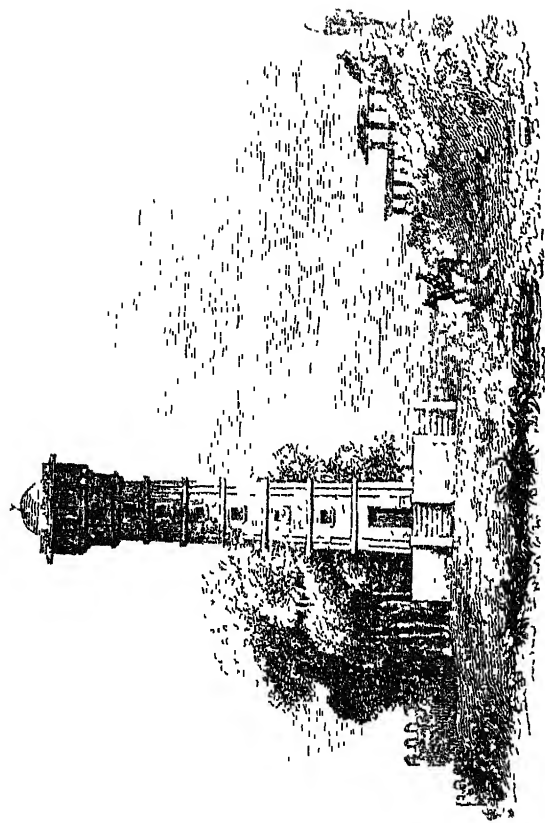


so far as I could judge by the eye, about 110 or 120 feet high. The view from the top is very extensive, but, at the present season of the year, there is so much dust and glare that a distant prospect cannot be seen to advantage in this part of India.

On our return from the fort I found the Killedar with a number of people round him, seated on the roof of the colonnade which I have mentioned. I paid him some compliments in passing, on the magnificence and strength of his castle, which he received in a surly manner enough, barely standing up to return my civilities. I suspect that, though compelled by the order of his superiors to admit me, he was not well pleased at seeing Feringees within his castle, and perhaps still less so, that they came by the invitation of another person. We returned down the hill by torch-light, greatly pleased with our visit.

We did not see much of the rampart, but were struck by the very slight appearance of precaution or defence at the gates which we passed. There was only one clumsy piece of cannon visible, and the number of armed men did not altogether amount to sixty. A considerable population resides within the fort, but they seemed all Brahmins, weavers, and market-people. If well garrisoned by a British force, the place would, with the addition of some casemates, be very nearly impregnable. Its situation is such, that to batter it could be of little use, and, from its great extent, shells would not occasion much danger to the garrison. But to man





TEMPLE OF SIVA, AT CHITTORE.

its walls, even in the most imperfect manner, would require a moderate army.

In our way back through the town, a man begged of me saying that he was blind. On my calling him, however, he came forwards so readily to the torches, and saw, I thought so clearly, that I asked him what he meant by telling me such a lie. He answered that he was night-blind ("rat unda"), and I, not understanding the phrase, and having been a good deal worried during the day with beggars, for the whole fort is a swarm of nothing else, said peevishly "darkness is the time for sleep, not for seeing." The people laughed as at a good thing, but I was much mortified afterwards to find that it was an unfeeling retort. The disease of night blindness, that is, of requiring the full light of day to see, is very common, Dr. Smith said, among the lower classes of India, and to some professions of men, such as soldiers, very inconvenient. The Sepoys ascribe it to bad and insufficient food, and it is said to be always most prevalent in a scarcity. It seems to be the same disorder of the eyes with which people are afflicted who live on damaged or inferior rice, in itself a food of very little nourishment, and probably arises from a weakness of the digestive powers. I was grieved to think I had insulted a man who might be in distress, but Dr. Smith comforted me by saying that, even in respect of night blindness, the man was too alert to be much of a sufferer from the cause which he mentioned.

*February 23.*—From Chittore to Sawa is a stage

of ten miles, through a country almost entirely covered with jungle, not close and matted with long grass, but open, of scattered trees and bushes, with a tolerable turf under foot. It abounds, the suwarra told me, with deer and wild hogs, but has very few tygers. These last, indeed, seem to like long grass and the neighbourhood of water, which is here by no means abundant. There are, however, other beasts of prey. A few nights before, a wolf had carried away a fine lamb from our little flock, close under the nose of the centinel, who did not perceive the robber till too late.

Sawa is a good-sized town, walled, and containing two or three well-looking houses, four handsome pagodas, and two very beautiful boolees. An unusual number of drunken men, four or five, shewed themselves in the course of the day: they came in two parties to ask justice against some Brinjarrees, who, they said, had beaten and robbed them. It appeared, on cross-examination, that in the Brinjarree encampment, spirits were (in the language of the Calcutta market-book) "procurable." These men had been there, and got into some quarrel, in which they had been soundly beaten, and very possibly robbed too, though this last seemed doubtful, as they had still their usual Rajpoot ornaments of silver about them, which would, I should think, have gone first. I told them I was not the sovereign of the land, and bade them go to the Kamdar of the town. I had seen very few drunken men in India before, but the time of "Hoolee" is now coming on, which is the Hindoo

carnival, and in which the people of Central India more particularly indulge in all kinds of riot and festivity. The Sepoys of my guard have begun to assail the women whom they pass on their march with singing and indecent language, a thing seldom practised at other times. This is also the season for pelting each other with red powder, as we have seen practised in Calcutta.

I have endeavoured, within these few days, to learn the tenure of lands, their rent, &c. but found that the tenure differed in no respect from that described by Sir John Malcolm, and that there was no fixed rent but an annual settlement with Government,—a ruinous system, but too common, as it seems, all over India.

*February 24.*—From Sawa to Neemhaira there are six coss; the first part of the road through jungle again. Indeed the want of people in this part of Meywar is very striking, and the more so because the soil, though stoney, is far from bad. Water, however, it is not impossible, may be difficult to obtain except at a considerable expence by piercing the rock. The most common tree, or rather bush, in these forests is the dhāk, with a large broad leaf like a peepul, and a beautiful pink flower which now begins to shew itself.

Neemhaira is a small town, surrounded with a better rampart and towers than any which I have lately seen, and with a far better cultivation round it of wheat, barley, and poppies. The poppies are very beautiful, the more so indeed from a circumstance which diminishes their value in the opium

market, that, namely, they are red, white, and all colours instead of white only. Neemhaira, and the district round it, containing 275 villages, and yielding a reverue, as I was told by the town's-people, of three lacs, form a part of Ameer Khân's Jaghire, which consists of four or five detached territories, besides the principal one of Tonk, where he himself resides. The income of all together has been variously rated at from ten to twenty-four lacs; fifteen or sixteen may probably be about the amount. This is far more than he ever could have collected honestly during the time of his greatest power, since then he seldom was sure of any part of his territory, except what was actually in the possession of his army, and his great harvest always grew on his neighbour's lands.

Neemhaira is administered by a Mussulman officer of his, under the title of " moonshee," a very civil and apparently well-informed person. He furnished us liberally, and without accepting any remuneration, with fuel, grass, &c. as well as with four goats, as a dinner for the people. The encamping ground, however, was bad, the neighbourhood of the town being so well cultivated that no place remained free, except what was covered with stones and ruins. There is a neat cutcherry with three or four small temples and a little mosque in the town; adjoining to the latter is the tomb of Jumsheed Khân, the late Patan chief, who, with Bappoo Sindia, held Oodeypoor in so complete and inhuman subjection. He has been dead, the moonshee told me, these five years. This was his Jag-

hire till his death. At present it is subject to the police of our Government, on account of the following transaction : a great robbery having occurred about a year ago in this district, in which some persons, British subjects from Neemuch, were attacked, stripped, and some of them killed, Colonel Lumley applied to Ameer Khân for justice or damages. The Nawâb answered that he had no sufficient army to enforce his authority over so distant a possession, and that he wished that the English would take the district in farm, pay him a fair rent, and govern it in their own way. This offer was accepted. The moonshee, though administering justice in the name of the Nawâb, is appointed by Colonel Lumley, and there is a Jemautdar with twenty of our horse quartered in the town to secure it and its neighbourhood. This Jemautdar, who called on me, is one of the finest old men I have seen, with a grey beard flowing over his breast. He is a Mussulman, and, as I should have supposed from his tall stature, not of this country, but from the north of Hindostan. There is a very beautiful boolee in the town, built within these few years from a legacy left by a rich merchant. It has a noble staircase, and a verandah of rich Saracenic arches round the wall about half-way down. The water is now very low, but in the rains it is full nearly to the brim. These fine boolees seem peculiar to India west of the Jumna, at least I have never met with any like them to the eastward of that river. The practice of having steps down to the edge of the water, as well as corridors and por-



tics round the wells at certain heights, arises from the religious observances of both Mussulmans and Hindoos, which make washing an inseparable accompaniment of prayer. As works of art and taste they are eminently beautiful, but they are strangely deficient in any mechanical aids for raising the water. No means are used but the small brazen lotee which every body carries, or at most an earthen jar or skin, the former of which is let down by a long string from the top of one of the galleries, while the other must be carried down to the water's edge and brought up again on the head or back. There is indeed a rude pulley at the top, but this is only used in irrigating the fields, and to bring up the large leathern bucket which is drawn by oxen.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### NEEMUCH TO BARODA.

*Neemuch—Character of Raypoots and Bheels—Good effects of British rule—Boras—Confirmation—Pertaubghur—Manner of collecting Opium—Heat, and parched state of the Country—Festival of the Hoollee—Bheel Huts—Palace of Banswarra—Murder of Female Infants—Visit from the Rawul—Jam Temple—Sham-fight of Bheels—Visit from the Raja of Barreah—Dreadful Famine—Brinjarrees.*

FEBRUARY 25.—From Neemhaira to Neemuch is between seventeen and eighteen miles, over a more open and rather better cultivated country. Neemuch itself differs in no conspicuous respect from any of the other large cantonments of the Bengal army. It is a stationary camp of thatched bungalows and other buildings, open on all sides, and surrounded by a fine plain for the performance of military evolutions. The soldiers are employed in building a sort of fort, as a shelter to the women, children, and stores, in time of need. There is a fine house here built by Sir David Ochterlony, and well furnished, but which he has never occupied. These buildings, with the surrounding slip of Meidân, constitute the entire British territory in this neighbourhood, the small town of Neemuch, and most of the surrounding country, belonging to Sindia. The cantonment itself is in fact on his

ground, but was sold or ceded by him, though with considerable reluctance, at the last peace. Not even Swabia, or the Palatinate, can offer a more checquered picture of interlaced sovereignties than Meywar, and indeed all Malwah, of which Meywar, in common parlance, is always reckoned a part. In the heart of the territory which on our English maps bears Sindia's colour, are many extensive districts belonging to Holkar, Ameer Khàn, the Raja of Kotah, &c. ; and here scarcely any two villages together belong to the same sovereign. Sindia, however, though all this is usually reckoned beyond his boundary, has the lion's share. Never was an arrangement better calculated to ensure protection and impunity to robbers, even if there had not been abundance of jungle and inaccessible rocks, inhabited by a race (the Bheels) whose avowed profession, from the remotest antiquity, has been plunder. The presence of a powerful army in the midst of such a territory, under officers anxious and interested in the maintenance of good order, has, of course, contributed greatly to repress these disorders, and must, as I should apprehend, be regarded as a real benefit and blessing to the country by all its peaceable and industrious inhabitants.

I was very hospitably entertained at Neemuch by Captain Macdonald, political agent for this part of India, and brother to Major Macdonald Kinneir, whose travels in Asia were published some years ago. He was a long time Aide-de-camp and secretary to Sir John Malcolm. I derived much

valuable information from him respecting the route to Bombay, which is all under his controul, and which he had himself surveyed and laid down in a new direction,—the route to Saugor,—the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, and their rulers. There was no doubt of the route to Saugor (which, in my anxiety to rejoin my wife and children, I had still a great hankering after,) through Bundelcund and Mirzapoor being perfectly safe and practicable, though I should latterly find the heat very oppressive in marching, and almost intolerable in a palanquin. Nor, indeed, did it appear that there were means for laying a Dāk in that direction, so that I could not hope to arrive on the river till the 20th or 21st of April. As to the facilities of proceeding from Mirzapoor by water, I found two opposite statements; some maintaining that the passage might, by the help of the stream, be made in six weeks; while one officer, who said he had himself performed it, declared that it would, from the delay occasioned by the southern monsoon, occupy at least two months or ten weeks, even supposing, which was not always to be expected, that the Moorshedabad river was open, and that I was spared the detour by Chudna and the Sunderbunds, which would make three weeks more. On the whole, unless I determined to go by Dāk from Benares to Calcutta, a measure not to be adopted in April or May without real necessity, I found that I should gain but little time by giving up Bombay, while by doing so, the sacrifice of probable usefulness and future convenience

which I should make would be very great. I therefore made up my mind, though with a heavy heart, to go on, in the hope that a kind Providence would still continue to watch over those dear objects, to meet whom in safety, after my long absence, was at present my chief earthly wish. I determined, however, on relinquishing my visit to Mhow, because Captain Macdonald assured me both that the earlier in April I left the hot country of Guzerât the better, and also that after the middle of that month I should find considerable difficulty in obtaining a passage by sea from Surat to Bombay.

The character of the Rajpoots, and their Government, Captain Macdonald represented in unfavourable terms. The people, who are grievously oppressed, and have been, till very lately, engaged in incessant war, have the vices of slaves added to those of robbers, with no more regard to truth than the natives of our own provinces, exceeding them in drunkenness, fondness for opium, and sensuality, while they have a blood-thirstiness from which the great mass of Hindoos are very far removed. Their courage, however, and the gallant efforts they made to defend their territories against the Maharattas, deserve high praise; and some effects of a favourable nature have been produced among them by the intercourse which they have had with the English. The specimens of our nation which they have hitherto seen, have, on the whole, been very favourable. None of the King's regiments have yet been sent here, and few Europeans of any description except officers. They have, therefore, seen

little of the drunkenness and violence of temper which have made the natives of our own provinces at once fear and despise a Feringee soldier, and they still, Captain Macdonald says, admire us more and wonder more at the difference of wisdom, morals, and policy, which they perceive between us and them, than any other people with whom he has had intercourse in India. And he is of opinion that their present state of feeling affords by no means an unfavourable soil for the labours of a Missionary.

The Bheels were regarded both by him and the other officers with whom I conversed, as unquestionably the original inhabitants of the country, and driven to their present fastnesses and their present miserable way of life by the invasion of those tribes, wherever they may have come from, who profess the religion of Brahma. This the Rajpoots themselves, in this part of India, virtually allow, it being admitted in the traditional history of most of their principal cities and fortresses, that they were founded by such or such Bheel chiefs, and conquered from them by such and such children of the Sun. Their manners are described as resembling, in very many respects, those of the Rajmahal Puharrees. And, thieves and savages as they are, I found that the officers with whom I conversed, thought them on the whole, a better race than their conquerors. Their word is more to be depended on, they are of a franker and livelier character, their women are far better treated and enjoy more influence, and though they shed blood

without scruple in cases of deadly feud, or in the regular way of a foray, they are not vindictive or inhospitable under other circumstances, and several British officers have, with perfect safety, gone hunting and fishing into their country, without escort or guide, except what these poor savages themselves cheerfully furnished for a little brandy. This is the more touching, since on this frontier nothing has been done for them, and they have been treated, I now found, with unmingled severity. In the South, where Sir John Malcolm could carry every thing in his own way, he raised a corps out of their number, which he placed under the command of their own chiefs, and subjected to just as much discipline as a wild people were likely to bear, and as was necessary for the nature of the service in which they were to be employed. He also secured them the peaceable possession of a certain portion of their lands which had been depopulated by the Pindarrees, obtaining for them a freedom from taxes for a sufficient number of years to make it worth their while to acquire industrious habits. In short, he proceeded in nearly the same manner, and with full as much success, as Cleveland did with the Puharrees.

In this part of India nothing of the kind has been done ; they have, indeed, had facilities held out to them to enter into our local corps, but these corps are under the same severe discipline and exact drill with the regular regiments, which it is idle to suppose that a savage would endure. Though there is waste land in abundance, no effectual measures

have been taken to persuade the princes of the country to allow or induce the Bheels to settle in it, and as the poor people themselves complain, we punish them for robbing while we give them no means of earning their subsistence in an honest way.

The difficulties, indeed, which the English Residents have to encounter in their attempts to improve the condition either of Bheels or Hindoos, are in this country very great. All interference in the internal concerns of the petty sovereigns who are the Company's feudatories, is naturally viewed with a jealous eye by the native rulers themselves, and except in the way of advice or indirect influence, is, in all ordinary cases, discouraged by the Supreme Government. The Rajas of these states are the most ignorant and degraded of men, incompetent to judge of their own true interests, and uninfluenced by any other motive which might induce them to consult the happiness of their people.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor, in addition to the circumstances of his character, which I have already detailed, is surrounded and governed by minions of the most hateful description, who drain his treasury, force him to contract new debts, and squeeze his people to the utmost. The heir apparent of Pertaubghur, who had till lately been the efficient sovereign of the country, is now in confinement by order of the English Government, in consequence of his having committed, in about three years' time, no fewer than six murders with his own hands, or, at least, sanctioned them by his presence. His



father, the Raja, who was entirely unable to restrain him, but pleaded with many tears for his liberty, is a poor old man, past every thing except a strong affection for his unworthy son, and a spirit of avarice which seems to know no bounds, and will not be convinced that he would increase his revenues, eventually, by allowing his waste lands to be cultivated at easy rents. The Raja of Banswarra is a very young and weak prince, and the Rajas of Lunee-warra and Doongerpoor are, in fact, without power to do good; the territories of the former never having recovered from the cruelty of the Pindarrees, and, consequently, are become jungle from one end to the other, and the poor prince of Doongerpoor being in the hands of a party of rebels who have shut up themselves and him in a strong castle, where they are at this moment besieged by a body of the Bombay army, who, finding themselves unequal to their work, have applied for help to Neemuch.

In such a state of society, and in a country previously reduced by Maharattas and Pindarrees to a state of universal misery, such as no country besides has known, little can be done in the way of advice or influence by young men stationed at different courts, and obliged to apply for directions to a Government 1000 miles off. It is even probable that too frequent or too arbitrary interference would defeat its own ends, and that such a close connection as subsists with Oude, for instance, would, as in that case, by no means add to the happiness of the people whom we seek to benefit. But that for

these poor Bheels, many advantages might be even now obtained, and that it would be a wise as well as a most humane policy to secure them as our allies, in any future struggles in this part of India, I am fully persuaded ; as well as that, had Sir John Malcolm been made Governor, as he desired to be, of all Central India, this point, and many others advantageous to the people of the country, would have been, long since, secured permanently. No difficulties could be greater than those which he met with in Southern Malwah, and yet that country, from a mere wilderness, is now, I am told, a garden. There are, indeed, few such Governors as Sir John Malcolm to be found, but any intelligent Government established with distinct powers, and the advantages of local information, in the centre of India, would, I am convinced, be a great blessing to the country, and a security to our dominion here, so great as hardly to be appreciated.

Meantime it is satisfactory to find that, though our influence has not done all the good which might be desired or expected, that which has been done is really considerable. Except from these poor Bheels, and from the few gangs of marauders which still lurk in different parts of the country, that country is now at peace, and how slight are these dangers, and how easy to be borne are the oppressions of their native Rajas, in comparison with the annual swarm of Pindarree horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured, and murdered over the whole extent of territory from the Runn to the Bay of Bengal ? While their inroads are re-

membered, to say nothing of Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Ameer Khân, the coming of the English cannot but be considered as a blessing. And I only hope that we may not destroy the sort of reverence and awful regard with which, I believe, our nation is still looked upon here.

Captain Macdonald agreed with Dr. Gibb in speaking of the Mussulman Governors as wiser and better than the Hindoos ; their religion, in fact, is better, and their education is something superior. But it should seem, by what he says, that Sindia's territories, and Holkar's, are also better governed than those of these Western Princes, whose misfortunes and long-continued degradation seem to have done any thing but taught them wisdom. Sindia is, himself, a man by no means deficient in talents or good intentions ; but his extensive and scattered territories have never been under any regular system of control, and his Maharatta nobles, though they too are described as a better race than the Rajpoots, are robbers almost by profession, and only suppose themselves to thrive when they are living at the expence of their neighbours. Still, from his well-disciplined army and numerous artillery, his government has a stability which secures peace, at least, to the districts under his own eye ; and as the Pindarrees feared to provoke him, and even professed to be his subjects, his country has retained its ancient wealth and fertility to a greater degree than most other parts of Central India. The territories of Holkar were as badly off as any, but for their restoration they had the advantages

of Sir John Malcolm's advice and commanding influence. The ministers who have ruled the country during the young Raja's minority, are of his choice; the system of administering justice and collecting the revenue, recommended by him, has been preserved, and, by all which I can learn, the beautiful valley of the Nerbuddah has enjoyed, during the last ten years, a greater degree of peace and prosperity than it perhaps ever did before within the limits of Hindoo history.

Besides the Rajpoots, Bheels, and Jains, a good many Jâts are scattered up and down these provinces, chiefly as cultivators of the land. There are also more Mussulmans than I expected to find, of whom the majority are of Patan race and of the Sunnite sect. The smaller, but by far the wealthier and more industrious party, are here called Boras, —a sect whose opinions are but imperfectly ascertained. They approach nearest to the Sheeahs, with a tendency towards Sooffeism, and are believed by Captain Macdonald to be a remnant of the old sect of Hussunus, or as they are called in European History, "Assassins." They have nothing, however, at present of the sanguinary and warlike temper which distinguished the followers of the "Old Man of the Mountain." They are in general very peaceable and orderly merchants and tradesmen, and have considerable influence and privileges in most of the cities of Central India, agreeing far better with both Jains and Rajpoots than their fiery Sunnite rivals. Between these last and them, however, blood has been lately shed. A

new Sunnite teacher in the city of Mundissore, a few weeks since, thought proper to distinguish himself by a furious attack on the Sheeite heresy from the pulpit, and by exhorting the true believers to cast out such wretches from dwelling among them. In consequence some wealthy Boras were insulted in the bazar by the Patans, and a fray ensued, in which the Boras, peaceable as they generally are, had the advantage. The Sunnite preacher was killed, but his body was buried by his friends with all the honours of martyrdom. The fray was again renewed, when the Patans killed several Boras, and drove the rest from the place, declaring that they would pursue their advantage in all the neighbouring towns till the accursed were rooted from the earth. It ended in two companies of British Sepoys being sent to keep the peace, and in the arresting of one or two ringleaders. Had not a large force been at hand, it is probable that a grand war would have begun between the parties in half the towns of Malwah; so easily is blood shed where all hands are armed and all laws feeble.

*February 26.*—I dined with Colonel Lumley, the Commandant of the station.

*February 27.*—I read prayers and preached in the drawing-room of Sir David Ochterlony's house to a congregation of nearly a hundred. I had eight communicants, and, which I did not expect, four applicants for confirmation, among whom was my host, Captain Macdonald.

*February 28.*—I sent off the tents and people at sun-rise, but Dr. Smith and I remained till night or

rather morning, when we travelled in our palanquins towards Pertaubghur. The weather had been really cold for several days, and this night there was a hard frost, a circumstance which I did not expect at this time of year and in this latitude. We are here, however, in one of the highest parts of Malwah, all of which is considerably elevated above the sea. The height of the plain of Pertaubghur, is reckoned at about 1700 feet, an altitude, however, hardly sufficient to account for the degree of cold which was felt. For us this was very pleasant and wholesome, but the opium crops and the fruit-trees were sad sufferers. Captain Macdonald says that Malwah suits most European garden-stuff well, but potatoes degenerate fast, and are of so small a size, that the natives after, in many instances, trying the experiment, have ceased to cultivate them. He had some tolerable ones in his own garden, some fine roses just come into bloom, and a good show of strawberries not quite ripe.

*March 1.*—We arrived at Pertaubghur, a small city, the residence of a petty Raja, with a battalion of Sepoys cantoned in the neighbourhood. The Commandant, Major Hamilton, shewed us much hospitality and kindness, and from him, as being placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bheels, I obtained a good deal of the information which I have, in the last few pages, communicated respecting them. Pertaubghur contains little or nothing worth seeing. The country round it is undulating and fertile, with extensive fields of poppies and wheat, and a good many scattered peepul-

trees. The groves of fruit-trees seem to have been all ruined by the Pindarrees, and, in spite of its fertility, all beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the large towns is jungle. The Raja has the privilege of coining money, grounded, as he pretends, but as seems very doubtful, on a grant of one of the Mogul emperors. He was allowed to retain it when he became feudatory to the British Government, but has so repeatedly abused it by fraudulently altering the standard, that he probably will not be suffered to strike money much longer. Ornaments of gold, silver, and enamel, are to be procured here; I saw a necklace and bracelets of gold embossed with the twenty-four avatars of Indian mythology, which were very curious and prettily wrought.

*March 2.*—I was joined by nine more horsemen of Captain Smith's local regiment, making the number of my escort eighteen. I had not asked for any increase of guards, but Colonel Lumley told me that my road lay too near the seat of war in Doongurpoor, and through a country at all times so unsettled, that he did not like to send me away with a smaller number. Yet the road takes us, comparatively, through a far better country than that which used to be followed, and which led directly through the gorge of the mountains at Gulliakote, into a very dismal wilderness of several days' journey, so much infested by tygers that no travellers could safely move before sun-rise. The consequence of a contempt of this precaution Major Hamilton told me in an affecting story. One of

his acquaintance, who was marching with a body of troops between Gulliakote and Luneewarra, called on a Bheel villager to be his guide through the wood very early one morning. The Bheel remonstrated, observing that it was not the custom of the country to march before day-light, and that it was dangerous to do so. The officer, supposing this to be the mere pretext of laziness, was positive, and threatened him if he did not go on. The man said nothing more, but took his shield and sword and walked on along the narrow path overhung with long grass and bamboos. The officer followed at the head of his men, and had moved slowly half asleep on his saddle for about five miles, when he heard a hideous roar, and saw a very large tyger spring past him so close that he almost brushed his horse. The poor Bheel lifted up his sword and shield, but was down in an instant under the animal's paws, who turned round with him in his mouth, growling like a cat over a mouse, and looked the officer in the face. He did what could be done, and with his men attacked the tyger, whom they wounded so severely that he dropped his prey. But the first blow had done its work effectually, and the poor man's scull was mashed in such a manner as, literally, to be all in pieces. The officer told Major Hamilton that from that day forwards this scene was seldom absent from his dreams, and with the least illness or fever he had always a return of the vision of the tyger, with the unfortunate man in his jaws, whom his imprudence had sacrificed.



*March 3.*—We went this morning about seventeen miles to a small and very poor village named Chompna, whither supplies had been sent beforehand by the Raja of Pertaubghur, who was himself at Deeoleear, a fort at some distance, but from whom we had a civil message. The country is pretty, with a mixture of wood and arable land which is by no means disagreeable. The trees are either dhâk or peepul, but near the villages are a few mangoes now in blossom. The hills are low, but very rocky, the valleys and level ground of a rich and deep though light black loam, which, under a good government, would soon be a garden. The villagers, however, are among the poorest that I have seen, and reminded me in dress and squalor, though not quite in the outward signs of ill-health, of the wretched inhabitants of the Terrai of Rohilcund. These poor people complained bitterly of the injury done to their poppies by the frost, which was again severe last night. Their wheat is happily very promising, but it is on the opium that they chiefly depend to pay their rents. The heavy transit duties imposed by the different Rajas on the exportation and importation of corn are very ruinous to agriculture. In Guzerât the inhabitants of this fertile region would, generally, have a ready market for their wheat, and during this present year it bears a price in the neighbourhood of Baroda treble to what it bears at Pertaubghur, being twenty-seven seer the rupee at the latter place, and at the former, if we are rightly informed, nine the rupee, a difference which, with an open and easy

communication, could not possibly exist unless the intermediate duties were exorbitant. If this is the case, it would be, surely, a fair subject of interference on the part of the Company's Government, as both Guzerât and Malwah would be gainers by a free interchange of their commodities. It should seem, however, either that these tolls have been lowered, or that the present high price has of itself been a sufficient stimulus to prompt men to carry corn southwards, inasmuch as, though we had as yet seen none, we met or overtook, in the course of our onward journey, a great many parties of Brinjarrees and waggoners, who were either taking corn from Malwah, or were going thither from Guzerât to purchase it. The people, however, complained that even now the profit they should make would, to use their own phrase, "not be enough to fill their bellies."

One of Dr. Smith's saeeses died to-day. He was taken so ill in his march to this place as to be unable to proceed. I sent an elephant and some people for him, who found him insensible, and he remained so till he expired, soon after his arrival. The cholera had shewed itself in several instances at Pertaubghur, but this was apparently nothing of the kind. He was a Hindoo, and was burned by his companions in the course of the evening.

The gram "dhana," had just been cut before this nipping wind and frost arrived,—happily, as the suwarrs told me, or that also must have suffered.

We met to-day a considerable number of bullocks laden with an intoxicating drug called "Mhowa,"

a flower, the juice of which they ferment and take in various forms. It grows on a large tree, and drops off about this time of year. The part which they use is the round bulb, or calyx, from which the leaves grow. The colour is a pale pink. These men were bringing their loads from Doongurpoor to Pertaubghur, against the great period of the Hoollee, when all sorts of indulgence and excitation are in request.

*March 4.*—We marched seven coss, or about sixteen miles, to Amba Ramba, or, as it is generally called, Ambera. The country during this march becomes more rugged and woody, but is still tolerably well cultivated; and after passing a low but rocky chain of hills, I was glad to see that the people were at work in their poppy-grounds, and that the frost, to all appearance, had not extended far in this direction. The opium is collected by making two or three superficial incisions in the seed-vessel of the poppy, whence a milky juice exudes, which is carefully collected. The time of cutting them seems to be as soon as the petals of the flower fall off, which is about the present season. Sugar-mills are seen in every village, but no canes are now growing. The crops of barley and wheat are very thin, and the whole country bears marks of drought, though not by any means so decidedly and dismally as Jyepoor.

Ambera is a large village on the slope of a hill, with a nullah not far from it, now standing in pools, and some large trees. At some little distance it is enclosed by rocks fringed with wood, and

the scene would be beautiful if it were less parched and sun-burnt. The morning had been again cold, but it was very hot during the day. We must now, indeed, expect to be more or less inconvenienced by heat, and may reckon ourselves fortunate in the frosty mornings which have so long favoured us. The people of Ambera were very noisy all day and great part of the night, in the merriment of the Hoolee. In the course of the evening a man came to us who said he was a Charun from Cattywar. He had not his distinctive dress on, which I was curious to see. I told him, therefore, to bring his "burra pugree," or large turban, and that he should have a present. He promised to do so, but never returned, and had, possibly, laid claim to a character which did not belong to him.

I was to-day talking with Dr. Smith on the remarkably diminutive stature of the women all over India,—a circumstance extending, with very few exceptions, to the female children of Europeans by native mothers; and observed that one could hardly suppose such little creatures to be the mothers or daughters of so tall men as many of the Sepoys are. He answered, that the women whom we saw in the streets and fields, and those with whom only, under ordinary circumstances, Europeans could form connexions, were of the lowest caste, whose growth was stunted from an early age by poverty and hard labour, and whose husbands and brothers were also, as I might observe, of a very mean stature. That the Sepoys, and respectable natives

in general, kept their women out of our way as much as possible ; but that he, as a medical man, had frequently had women of the better sort brought to him for advice, whose personal advantages corresponded with those of their husbands, and who were of stature equal to the common run of European females.

*March 5.*—About two miles beyond Ambera the road descends a steep pass, overhung with trees, into an extensive forest, which we traversed for fifteen miles to Chotee Sirwan, a small station of police Sepoys, near which our tents were pitched. The tract, however, is not entirely without inhabitants. Soon after descending from the ghât we came to a Bheel hut, whose owner we engaged, by the promise of a reward, to guide us through the jungle, and afterwards passed two or three little hamlets of the same nation, with small patches of cultivation round each. The huts were all of the rudest description, of sticks wattled with long grass, and a thatch of the same, with boughs laid over it to keep it from being blown away. They were crowded close together, as if for mutual protection, but with a small thatched enclosure adjoining for their cattle. Their fields were also neatly fenced in with boughs, a practice not common in India, but is here, I suppose, necessary to keep off the deer and antelopes from their corn. The soil is poor and stoney, and few of the trees of large size. There is, however, a better supply of water than I expected, none of the nullahs being perfectly dry, even in this thirsty year, but standing in pools, as

Bruce describes the rivers in Abyssinia. The whole country, indeed, and what I saw of the people, reminded me of the account which he has given of the Shangalla. All the Bheels whom we saw to-day were small slender men, less broad-shouldered, I think, and with faces less Celtic, than the Puharrees of Rajmahal, nor did I think them quite so dark as these last. They were not so naked as the two whom I met at Ummeerghur, having a coarse and dirty cotton cloth wrapped round the head and shoulders, and a sort of plaited petticoat round their loins, of the same material. Two of them had rude swords and shields, the remainder had all bows and arrows resembling those which I had seen before, except that the arrow-heads, not being intended for striking fish, were fixed. The bow-strings were very neatly made of Bamboo-slips plaited. Their beards and hair were not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance very dirty and ill-fed. They spoke cheerfully, however, their countenances were open, and the expression of their eyes and lips good-tempered. Few of them appeared to know any thing of Hindoostanee.

At Chotee Sirwan no supplies were to be obtained, except water from a nullah at some distance, and boughs for the elephants and camels. Some tradesmen from the Thanna at Ninnore had brought supplies for sale sufficient for the day, but nothing further; and I was again, with reluctance, but from sheer necessity, compelled to give orders for continuing our march on the Sunday. The

weather was extremely hot during the greater part of the day, but this is obviously among the most advantageous months for passing the jungle. The long grass is now burnt, or eaten down by the cattle,—the marshes are nearly dry,—and those prevailing causes of disease removed, which, at other times of the year, make this tract no less deadly than the Terrai. Even the tygers are less formidable now that their covert is so much diminished. The prospect, nevertheless, is dismal ; nobody can say,

“ Merry it is in the good green wood !”

The rocks seem half calcined, the ground is either entirely bare and black, or covered with a withered rustling grass ; the leaves which remain on the trees are dry and sapless, crackling in the hand like parchment ; and the bare scorched boughs of, by far, the greater number, give a wintry appearance to the prospect, which is strangely contrasted with the fierce glow of the atmosphere, and a sun which makes the blood boil and the temples throb. A great proportion of the trees are teak, but all of small size. There are some fine peepuls, which retain their leaves in the moist dingles by the river side, and the pink blossom of the dhâk, and a few scattered acacias, the verdure of which braves even the blast of an Arabian desert, redeem the prospect from the character of unmingled barrenness. Still it is sufficiently wild and dreary. Abdullah observed, and I was struck with the accuracy of the comparison, that the huts, the form of the hills,

and the general appearance of the country and people, greatly resembled the borders of Circassia and Georgia.

This being the great day of Hoollee, all my Hindoo servants came to pay their compliments, and bring presents of red powder and sugar-plums. The event was rather costly to me, as I was obliged to make presents in return. But it is the "dustoor," and who in India can transgress that unwritten and common law of the land?

Cashiram and the servants were very full of two adventures which had befallen them in their night's march. The first was that they heard people for some time running among the bushes near them, as if watching to seize the camels, but that on one man looking out and seeing the Sepoys, all appeared to take flight. The other was, that a very large tyger crossed the path a little before day-break, so near that they could not have mistaken any other animal for him, particularly as the moon shone bright. He stopped as if to look at them for a moment, and then passed quietly, or as they said, "civilly" on, as if neither courting nor fearing an encounter. All the suwarrs were very full of the change which had taken place in this country. "Five years ago," one of them said, "a thousand men could hardly have forced their way through these jungles and their inhabitants, now I was safe with sixty." I asked if small parties were safe? and they answered, "by no means;" that "the Bheels were as great robbers and murderers as ever, where they had the power," but that "they were very



much afraid of the red coats." I forgot to mention before, that, on our first approaching the Bheel villages, a man ran from the nearest hut to the top of a hill, and gave a shrill shout or scream, which we heard repeated from the furthest hamlet in sight, and again from two others which we could not see. I asked the meaning of this, and my su-warrs assured me that these were their signals to give the alarm of our coming, our numbers, and that we had horse with us. By this means they knew at once whether it was advisable to attack us, to fly, or to remain quiet, while if there were any of them of their number who had particular reasons for avoiding an interview with the troops and magistrates of the low-lands, they had thus fair warning given them to keep out of the way. This sounds like a description of Rob Roy's country, but these poor Bheels are far less formidable enemies than the old Mac Gregors. In the afternoon we walked up to one of the nearest hills, where were some huts of this unfortunate nation. They were all shut up, and an old man who came to meet us, said that they were empty. He himself, and a young man, who was, he said, his nephew, remained alone in the place; all the rest were with their cattle in the jungle.

Dr. Smith, who has an excellent ear, and knows Hindoostanee well, was able to converse with these people more readily than any of our party, and said that it was chiefly in accent and tone that their language differed from the dialect usually spoken in Malwah. They speak in a drawling sort of re-

citative, which Dr. Smith imitated, and found them catch his meaning much better than they otherwise could. The old man said that they had suffered much from want of rain, that their crops had been very scanty, that there was little pasture left for their cattle, and what was worst of all, they expected the pools of the neighbouring nullah to dry up before the end of the hot weather. When that happened, he said with much resignation—"they must go down to Doongurpool, or some other place where there was water, and do as well as they could." Both the men were evidently in fear, and even trembled; they shewed an anxiety that we should not go near their huts, and were unwilling to trust themselves with us as far as our tents, though they perfectly understood my promise that they should have something to eat. I pressed the young man to shoot one of his arrows at a mark, but he had only two with him, and he looked at us all round as if he feared we wanted to make him part with his means of defence. I succeeded, however, in re-assuring him; he shot at and hit a tree about 100 yards off, and on my praising his skill, let fly his other arrow, which went straight enough, but struck the ground near the root. He held his bow and arrow in the English manner, differently from the Hindoostanees, who place the arrow on what we should call the wrong side, and draw the string with the thumb; his arrows were not ill-made, but his bow was what a "British bowman" would call a very slight one. The applause which he received, and the security which he now felt, made him fa-

miliar. He sate on the ground to shew us the manner in which his countrymen shoot from amid the long grass, holding the bow with their feet, and volunteered aiming at different objects, till I told him there was no need of more trials ; I asked him what game he usually killed, but apprehend that he misunderstood me, for he said, with some eagerness of manner, " that he only used his bow in self-defence." He now was very willing to come to our camp, and his uncle followed him. I gave them three anas between them, for which they were very thankful. One of the suwarra told me that the guide in the morning expressed much delight and some surprise at my keeping my word with him, in giving him the promised bukshish, a pretty clear proof how these poor people are usually dealt with.

The police Thanna consists of three or four huts, with a small stage elevated on four poles for a sentry to stand on, so like those used by the Cossacks on the Circassian frontier, as to add greatly to the resemblance of scenery discovered by Abdullah. I again, in the course of the evening, longed for my wife to see these things with me ; and though, after all, this is a country into which it is not likely that I should by choice take her, yet I know there is much in it which would amuse and interest her.

*March 6.*—We proceeded this morning about seven miles, through a very wild forest of rock, wood, dingles, and dry ravines, to Panchelwas, a small village inhabited by a mixed population of Bheels and Rajpoots, and under the government

of the Ranah of Banswarra. To this place we were told was a direct road over the hills from Neemuch, which would have saved us at least eight miles, and which, I found on reference to Sir John Malcolm's work, is laid down in his map of Central India. It is so rugged, however, and so infested by the unsubdued tribes of Bheels, that few travellers, except beggars and pilgrims go that way. The houses of Panchelwas are built in the same manner with those of the Bheels, but are larger and neater; and there were one or two shops, and the work-yard of a wainright, which shewed our return to something like civilization. The carts here are very strong and low. The wheels have no spokes, but are made of the solid circles of the stem of a large tree, like those of children's carts in England. They have no axletrees of the kind used in Europe, but the wheels are placed below the carriage, and secured like those of wheelbarrows.

The country, though still as wild as wild could be, had improved both in greenness and beauty during this morning's ride, and, on the other side of Panchelwas, became extremely pretty. We crossed a river, the Mhiye, which, notwithstanding its distance from the sea, though shallow, was still broad, and not stagnant, with rocks on each side, crowned with wood and some ruined temples, while the hills were not only greener and better wooded than any we had lately seen, but assumed a certain degree of consequence of size and outline. At last, our path still winding through the wood, but under the shade of taller and wider-spreading trees,

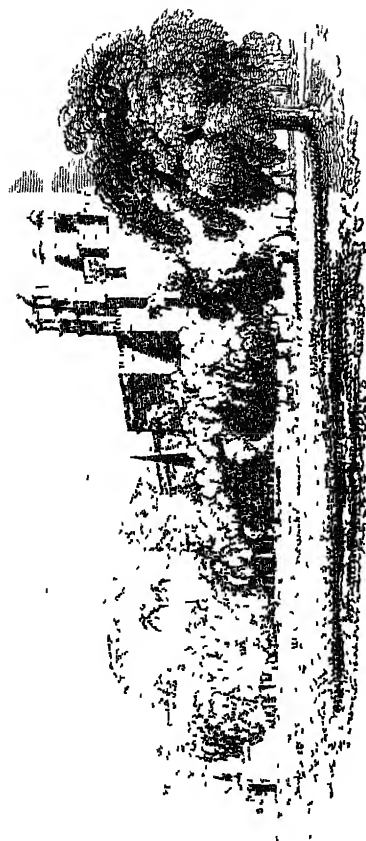
and over a soil obviously lest burnt and barren, we came to a beautiful pool, with some ruined temples, and a stately flight of steps leading to it, overhung by palms, peepuls, and tamarinds; and beyond it, on the crown of a woody hill, the towers of a large castle. This was the palace of Banswarra, and on advancing a little further the town came in sight at its foot, with its pagodas, ramparts, and orchards.

I was much surprised to find in such a situation so large and handsome a place, of which I knew nothing before, except as one of those states which have been noted in India for the wildness and poverty of their inhabitants, and for their abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants. This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice it has long been the endeavour of the British Government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when Resident at Baroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them, but it is believed by most officers on this side of the country, that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily pride, poverty, and avarice, are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still worse to marry her to a person of inferior birth, while they have neither the means nor the inclination to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth to be accept-

able to "the evil powers," and the fact is certain that, though the high-born Rappoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces, though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, for it is a point on which, except with the English no mystery is likely to be observed, is that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm, however, who supposes the practice to be on the decline, was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker it is certain that many children were spared, and previous to his departure from Guzerât, he received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank, who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes and throw wreaths of flowers over him, as their deliverer and second father. Since that time, however, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is, "pay our daughters' marriage portions and they shall live!" Yet these very men, rather than strike a cow, would submit to the cruellest martyrdom. Never may my dear wife and daughters forget how much their sex is indebted to Christianity!

The walls of Banswarra include a large circuit, as much, I should think, as those of Chester; but in the one, as well as the other instance, a good deal of space is taken up with gardens. There are some handsome temples and an extensive bazar, in which I saw a considerable number of Mussulmans. We took up our abode without the walls in a little old palace, with a pretty garden and a large cistern of water, now dry, which has been appropriated by the Rawul to the use of Captain Macdonald. From this house is an advantageous view of the city and palace, the trees are finer, and the view more luxuriant than any thing, Gunglowr always excepted, which we have seen since our leaving Bhurtpoor.

The Rawul came to call on me in the afternoon with his Kandari, and a considerable train of vassals, whom he presented to me as a highland chief would have done the gentlemen of his clan, and describing them in the same manner as the Thakoors of his house. They were mostly good-looking stout men, of a rustic but manly figure. The Rawul himself is a small, thin, and effeminate young man, of no prepossessing appearance. He was plainly dressed, except that he had a very handsome sword, a most voluminous red turban, and great gold anklets. His minister was a thin shrewd-looking person, with a very squeaking voice, a turban as was fitting, of inferior dignity to his master's, but with large pearls in his ears. I embraced the Rawul and his minister, and assigned them chairs on my right and left hand. The Thakoors all sat



PALACE OF HANSWARRA.





down on the floor, with their shields before them in the Rajpoot fashion, and a crowd of servants and people of all descriptions, among whom, in order to do me honour, near half the Sepoys of my escort pressed, formed a semicircle of standers-by behind them. Abdullah acted, as usual, as master of the ceremonies and interpreter, neither Dr. Smith nor I being versed in the technical and complimentary language of a court. At length, however, the conversation became more general, and they expressed much curiosity concerning the war in Ava. They had heard of Sir A. Campbell's success, and the capture of 300 pieces of cannon, but were anxious to learn the further progress of the campaign. I talked to them about Sir John Malcolm, of whom they spoke with great respect and apparent regard, and expressed great joy on hearing that he was likely again to come out to India. They conversed readily enough, more so than I had expected, about Doongurpoor and its war, though, as the Rawul said in answer to my question, if it was not so ? that its Raja was his kinsman. "And Oodeypoor also ?" said I. His countenance evidently brightened as he answered in the affirmative, as if he derived consequence in his own opinion and that of others by his relationship to so illustrious a house.

I now thought the visit had been long enough, and ordered pawn and attar to be brought. To my surprise, however, the Rawul kept his seat, called for his "kalean," or Persian pipe, smoked some whiffs, then began talking again. A long whispering conversation ensued between him and his ad-

nister, and while I was wondering in what all this would end, he begged my acceptance of a horse, which he said he had brought for me. I was a good deal annoyed, but endeavoured to parry the offer as well as I could. I first pleaded that such things were unnecessary were there was goodwill, and that I valued the almonds and sugar-plums which he had presented on first entering the room, as his gift, as much as an elephant coming from a person of less distinguished family. He bowed and smiled, but said, "If you refuse the horse, how can I believe you like to receive a smaller present?" I then said I should accept the horse with gratitude, and should be much obliged to the Raja to keep it for me till I returned that way, since in my journey between Bombay and Calcutta, I should go by sea, and be unable to take it with me. "Oh," said the Raja, "when you return I shall have more and finer horses for you, but you must not refuse to take this now." In short, I was obliged to yield, and the horse was brought, a tolerable grey poney, but old and not in the best condition, though quite as good as one generally meets among the Rajpoot nobles. He now took leave, and I accompanied him to the gate, the Sepoys presenting arms, which seemed to please him much. Knowing, however, the poverty as well as the antiquity of his family, I could not bear the idea of taking the horse without making a return, and after some deliberation, for it was not easy to find any thing I could spare which he would like, I sent him the glass lamp which used to hang in our cabin on board ship,

both as a pretty thing in itself, and one which he had, unquestionably, never seen before, at the same time that it accorded with the habits of his nation, who all burn lamps at night. I sent it by my servants, with an apology for my not returning his visit, from my anxiety to proceed on my journey. He returned a very civil message, and if I am to believe the report of my messengers, was well pleased with my present. Its intrinsic value, I should guess, was fully equal to that which I had received from him.

The Rawul said his age was just twenty-one, and he had been on the musnud since the year 1816. Both he and his minister spoke much of the oppression and cruelty formerly exercised on them by the Maharattas and Pindarrees. They said that ours was a good government for peace, and putting down thieves, but complained of the opium laws, and asked where all the opium went which was monopolized. They listened with much attention to Dr. Smith's account of the empire of China, and the quantity of opium which was consumed there, but were still more interested on his telling them that on my voyage from Bombay to Calcutta I must pass by Lanca, (the name given to Ceylon in the Hindoo books, and respecting which they have many extravagant legends) They would scarcely believe him when he said that it was now under the British Government, and that he had been there, and asked eagerly "if the principal city was surrounded by a wall of solid gold?" He answered that this was an old tradition, but that they them-

selves knew that many things mentioned in old books had not their like on earth now ; that Lanca was still a rich country, but not so fine as it had been represented, which seemed to satisfy them.

In the afternoon Dr. Smith strolled out by himself, and had some conversation with a few old men whom he had found under the shade of a tree. They seemed well satisfied with the present peaceable times, and answered his questions very readily about the internal politics of their country. The Kamdar, they said was a Jain, and seemed to hold him cheap accordingly : with the Rawul they did not seem well pleased. He was twenty-one, they said, and yet not married, a circumstance always discreditable among the Hindoos, but here particularly so, where it is a matter of much difficulty for girls of high blood to obtain suitable matches. We were objects of great curiosity in this place. A crowd was assembled all day before my gate, observing every movement within ; and when I walked in the evening I had as great a crowd after me as I have seen after a Persian ambassador, or other such outlandish person, in the streets of London.

During all the time of Hoolce drunkenness is common among the Hindoos, and our bearers had been for some days giving proof of it. To-night, however, they were so noisy after I was in bed, that I sent Abdullah to scold them. He brought back word that there was a dispute between them and some bunyans of the town about payment. On this I ordered all parties to my bed-side in order to judge between them, but by the way the adversa-

ries agreed between themselves, and I heard no more of it.

*March 7.*—We went between eleven and twelve miles through a wild but pretty country, to a small village named Burodeea. We were guided by Bheels, and most of the people we met were of that nation, though the villagers themselves were Rajpoots. Supplies were scanty and obtained with some difficulty from five or six neighbouring hamlets. The place contains at present twenty-five families; it was, twenty years ago, a moderate-sized town, but was ruined by Ram Deen, one of the followers of Jeswunt Row Holkar, and among the worst of the many bad. He is now a pensioner of the British Government, having surrendered to them early in the last war, and is living in retirement in Hindostan.

I was told that no charge would be made for the wood, milk, and grass which had been furnished, and which were all the supplies which we had required. I gave, however, a rupee to the Zemin-dar, or Potali, a very fine young peasant, but who could scarcely speak a word of Hindoostanee. We walked in the evening through some small patches of cultivation, with jungle all round, and a pleasing prospect of high woody hills; there were a great many mhowah-trees, not yet in blossom, though they would be so, we were told, in a fortnight or three weeks. They nearly resemble the oak in size, form of the branches, and colour of the leaves. Of the mhowah and its uses a good account is given in Sir John Malcolm's Central India. Its flower,

besides the intoxicating liquor obtained from it by fermentation, when dried, nearly resembles a small raisin both in appearance and flavour. Its fruit, and the small pistachio nut which grows wild among these hills in great abundance, are the principal food of the wilder tribes of Bheels. The latter are said to be deleterious till roasted, or at all events they contain an oil so astringent as not to be eatable.

*March 8.*—A romantic road through a wood containing many fine trees, and displaying a reasonable show of verdure, brought us, about seven miles, to a small but well-built village named Kalingera. A majority of the houses which we had seen in the territory of Banswarra, (I mean the Rajpoot houses, for the Bheel huts are wretched enough,) are extremely well-built and respectable, of large bricks, frequently two stories high, and, with their out-buildings, and in their general style, possessing much of the exterior of an English farm. Kalingera has also a sort of manor-house, not unlike some of the dismal-looking Zemindarree houses near Barrackpoor, the residence of a Thakoor, the hereditary chief of this place and a small district round it. Its most remarkable building, however, is a Jain temple, the largest and handsomest which I had yet seen, and which, being completely deserted, I had a tolerable opportunity to explore throughout. The entrance is under a sort of projecting porch by a flight of steps conducting to an open vestibule, supported by pillars, and covered by a dome. On each side of the entrance are some more steps, leading to an open verandah over the

porch. To the right of the vestibule just mentioned is a small court, to its left a square hall, supported by pillars internally, and roofed with flat slabs of stone, laid across stone beams of unusual length, being twelve feet from pillar to pillar. Beyond the vestibule, and facing the entrance, I passed by an ascent of three steps into another square hall, also with a flat roof, but different from the last as being open on the sides, and having a square platform, I apprehend intended for an altar, in the midst. To the right and left of this hall were others of the same size, but covered with domes ; and beyond these, to the extreme right and left, were sanctuaries of about twelve feet square, surmounted by high ornamented pyramids, with their door-places richly carved, and having within, small altars like those in Roman Catholic Churches, with vestiges of painting above them.

In the centre, and immediately opposite to the entrance, a dark vestibule led into a large square room also covered externally with a pyramid, and having within, in the middle, a sort of altar, or throne of marble, on which were placed four idols in a sitting posture, also of marble, and not ill carved. On either side of this apartment was a richly-carved niche, or small alcove, and beyond it, and still opposite to the entrance, another small vestibule led to an inner shrine about twelve feet square, also covered with a pyramid, having an altar at its furthest end, and a bas-relief of Parinâth, surrounded by several smaller sitting figures, over it. The details of this room, however, I only



saw imperfectly. It had no light but what came through its door after traversing all the preceding apartments. It was very close and noisome, being full of bats, which kept flapping against my face, and whose dung covered the floor of both rooms. Though the Thannadar of the village very civilly brought me paper, pen, and ink, he had no torches, and without them it was neither pleasant nor profitable to remain long in such a place, in a country where it was sure to be a harbour for all unclean and noxious animals. I could, however, by the light which I had, see enough to satisfy me that the arrangement of the figures was pretty similar to that which I had seen in the Jain temple at Benares.

From the dome-roofed apartments to the right and left of the hall which has the altar in it, a double verandah extends, surrounding a court in which the two sanctuaries which I have just described are enclosed; the verandah to the court being open and supported by pillars. The exterior one has no opening to the country, but internally has a number of narrow doors corresponding with the intercolumniations of the other. It is also surmounted externally by a succession of small pyramids, and on its western side and immediately behind the central sanctuary, is another chapel of the same kind with this last, covered with a similar pyramid, and approached by a very elegant portico or vestibule of a square form, supported by six pillars and as many pilasters.

In the further shrine is an altar, and a large

painting over it, much defaced, of a colossal head with a beard and flowing locks, and so far as can be judged, a very venerable expression of countenance. This, as well as I can recollect, is different from any thing which I saw at Benares, and may perhaps belong to some mystery which they did not think fit to disclose to persons of a different religion. The interior of the apartments had but little ornament except the images and bas reliefs which I have mentioned; the exterior is richly carved, and the pyramids, more particularly, were formed in clusters of little canopies, as usual in the Hindoo buildings of these provinces, but more elaborately wrought than is often seen. On each side the doors of the different small sanctuaries are figures of men with large staves in their hands, naked except a cloth round the waist, with very bushy hair, and a high cylindrical cap, such as is not now worn in India, but which exactly resembles that seen on the ancient figures at Persepolis and elsewhere in Persia. The similarity was so striking that Abdullah, of his own accord, pointed out one of these head-dresses as like that on the monument of Jumsheed Jum, and the prints which I have seen prove his recollection to be accurate. The domes are admirably constructed, and the execution of the whole building greatly superior to what I should have expected to find in such a situation. Its splendour of architecture, and its present deserted condition, were accounted for by the Thannadar from the fact, that Kalingera had been a place of much traffic, and the residence of many

rich traders of the Jain sect, who were all ruined or driven away by the Maharattas, at whose door, indeed, all the misfortunes of this country are, with apparent reason, laid.

The antiquity of the building I had no means of ascertaining. It is in too good repair for me to think it very old, and there are no inscriptions on its conspicuous parts; a Nagree date (1103) is visible on one of the stones in the pavement of the interior verandah, near the south-west corner, but I know not from what era this is reckoned, and the stone, from its situation, is not likely to have been selected to receive the date of the building. It may have been removed from some other edifice.

From Kalingera is about seven miles more of jungle to Tambresra, a village near which our tents were pitched under the shade of some fine trees, and near a cistern which still contained a little water. The situation was very beautiful, but made less agreeable than it might have been by an unlucky accident. Our little flock of sheep and goats were resting after their march under a spreading tree, when a monkey, who had come down to steal the shepherd's breakfast, and was driven back by him, in his hurried flight among the branches stumbled on a bees' nest which hung suspended in the air, and not only got himself well stung, but brought out the whole swarm in fury against the poor unoffending animals beneath. Most of them were severely stung and bleated pitifully, but it was curious to observe the different conduct between the

sheep and the goats. The former crowded all together, burying their noses in the sand, but with no apparent notion of flight or resistance, the latter ran off as fast as they could for shelter among our tents, pressing in for security as so many dogs would have done. They brought, however, such a swarm of their pursuers adhering to their coats and following them close, that their coming was very little to be desired, and we were forced to refuse them the hospitality which they would otherwise have received. Indeed, as it was, my tent was filled for a short time with bees, and several of the people were stung. We had good reason, however, to be thankful that they were the sheep and goats which were attacked and not the horses; had the latter been the case, the consequence might have been very serious. From what I saw on this occasion I do not think the sting of the common Indian bee so severe as that of the European.

In the afternoon the Thakoor of the district, who assumes the title of Raja, came to see me. His residence is at Kishulghur, a little town about three coss from hence, and he has a very small and poor territory of fourteen or fifteen villages; his name is Gumbeer Singh, a strongly-built and handsome young man, though not tall, and with one of the most prepossessing countenances I have seen for some time. He was a mere rustic, however, and had the further disadvantage of an impediment in his speech, a consciousness of which, apparently, made him confused and diffident. His dress was plain, and his shield, sword, and large turban his

only finery. He was attended by fifteen or twenty armed men, all on foot. I gave him a chair, pawn, and attar, and he in return would not allow his people to receive any thing for a kid and some milk which they had furnished, the value of which indeed was not equal to half a rupee.

Grain, which at Banswarra had been sixteen seers the rupee, was here nineteen, which, I hoped, indicated that things were not so very bad in Guzerât as I had understood, since on the immediate border there was no deterioration. The Thakoor, however, said that there was great dearth there, but that none of the people had, as yet, come to seek refuge in this country.

During the years of trouble, Malwah (except in the neighbourhood of fortified towns and among the most inaccessible mountains,) was entirely depopulated. All the villagers hereabouts had emigrated chiefly into Berar, Candeish, and the Deckan, and some had become servants and camp-followers to the British army, till, within the last three or four years, they returned each man to his inheritance on hearing that they might do so in safety. Several instances of this kind, and of the inviolable respect paid in this part of India to the rights of the poorest freeholders thus returning, are mentioned by Sir John Malcolm.

We walked in the evening about the village, the situation of which is beautiful; its inhabitants consist of Bheels and low caste Rajpoots, who have a still for arrack, at which several of the encampment, unfortunately, drank but too freely. On the

hill above were some noble mhowah trees, and under their shade some scattered Bheel huts, neater and better than any which I had seen. Each was built of bamboos wattled so as to resemble a basket; they had roofs with very projecting eaves, thatched with grass and very neatly lined with the large leaves of the teak tree. The upper part of each gable end was open for the smoke to pass out. The door was wattled and fastened with a bamboo plait and hinges, exactly like the lid of a basket, and the building was enclosed with a fence of tall bamboo poles, stuck about an inch apart, connected with cross pieces of the same, and with several plants of the everlasting-pea trailed over it. Within this fence was a small stage elevated on four poles about seven feet from the ground, and covered with a low thatched roof. My people said this was to sleep upon as a security from wild beasts, but I have no idea they could be in any danger from them within a bamboo fence and in a house of the same material, since it is well known that the tyger, from apprehension of snares, will hardly ever come near this sort of enclosure. It might be used as a sleeping place for the sake of coolness or dryness, but as each of these houses seemed to stand in the centre of its own little patch of Indian corn, I should rather apprehend it was intended as a post to watch it from.

One of the Allahabad bearers who had been drunk at Banswarra on Sunday evening, had not yet joined us, and his companions expressed considerable uneasiness about him. They did not ap-

prehend that he had as yet come to any harm, but he was, they said, pennyless, and without his clothes in a strange and far distant country. They thought he was probably deterred from following us either by fear of my displeasure, or by a dread of passing the woods alone, and begged me to make use of my "great name" to procure, as the best thing which could befall him, his being seized by the police, and brought to me as a prisoner. This was precisely what I thought of doing, so that I was not sorry to close with their intreaties, as, in fact, his absence was by no means convenient to me. I sent, therefore, a description of the man to the Cutwal of Banswarra by four of the police Sepoys, who are stationed at different Thannas for the protection of the road, and who nearly resemble the sword and shield-men whom we see round Calcutta, except that the police of Malwah have also matchlocks. These men had, at first, frequent affairs with the Bheels, and it was often necessary to call in the aid of regular troops. At Cheeta Talao, which is the frontier post of Guzerât, four years ago, a sharp engagement took place between fifty horse and one hundred infantry under the orders of Mr. Wellesley, and a large body of Bheels, in which seven horses and five men were killed by arrow-shots. At present matters go on smoothly in this neighbourhood, but last year Captain Cobbe had a long and bloody campaign in the mountains south of Oodeypoor, in which many lives were lost on both sides, but which ended in the miserable Bheels having their fields wasted, their villages







NATIVE COTTAGE AT TANYRESRA.

burnt, and so many of their people destroyed by famine, that they were supposed to be completely tamed. Captain Cobbe sent, therefore, a chobdar with offers of mercy; but so desperate had these wretched tribes become, and so bitter was their hatred of their persecutors, that they cut off the messenger's head, and fixed it on a bamboo, where the advancing party found it the next morning, the perpetrators of the deed having fled still further into the hills, where it was next to impossible for the lowland troops to pursue them. Since then it is said that Captain Cobbe has succeeded in engaging one tribe of Bheels to fight against their countrymen, but the result of this measure I have not heard, nor can I help thinking that a conciliatory policy has not yet been sufficiently tried, and that it is likely to answer better with these poor savages than mere severity.

*March 9.*—A march of fourteen miles through a thick forest, only interrupted by a few patches of corn round a Bheel hamlet, with a Thanna, named Doonga, about half-way, brought us to the rocky and beautiful banks of the river Anass, the bed of which is as broad as the Dee at Bangor, but which was now standing in pools, with every prospect of being quite dry before the present hot season is over. We here left Malwah and entered Guzerât. On the Guzerât side of the river is a police Thanna of two thatched huts, with an elevated stage for a sentry, and the whole surmounted by a high fence of bamboo poles, after the manner of the Bheels. A little to the north of this, and

near the confluence of the Anass and another considerable torrent named the Mhysrie, our tents were pitched in a situation which only wanted more water to make it the loveliest, as it was the wildest and most romantic, which I had seen since I left Kemaon. The spot of our encampment was considerably elevated, and presented a small irregular lawn dotted with noble trees of the peepul, mhowah, and toon species: beneath us, on two sides, was a rocky bank with brushwood, below this the two rivers, now, alas! hardly deserving the name, but, with their rocky and uneven beds, intersecting and bordering the clear black pools which yet remained in deeper and more shady spots; and, beyond them, hills, rocky and covered with wood, an apparently trackless and boundless wilderness so far as the eye could follow it. In seasons less thirsty than the present this would have been a delightful spot. As it is, we were fortunate in not being a week later, since, on asking about our farther route, I found that it was necessary to alter our destined halting-places in many instances from absolute want of water, and six or seven days later a caravan like ours would have been reduced to great distress, and probably obliged either to make marches which would have materially harassed the cattle, or to return by the way it came, at the risk of losing them all.

“Cheeta Talao,” the name of this place, means Leopard’s rock, but we neither saw nor heard of any ferocious animal. Animals of all kinds, indeed, seem strangely scarce in these woods. Had

there been many tygers we must, in all probability, have seen them or heard their growls, travelling so much as we have done before day-break, and pitching the tents in such wild and woody places. Nor have we seen any deer, or game of any description. The tyger, it is well known, requires a great deal of water, and is generally found in its neighbourhood; but the pools and cool reeds which yet remain in the Anass are sufficient, I should have supposed, to answer his wants. I am led therefore to suppose that the deer and other game have left the hills on account of the scarcity of forage, and that the tygers and leopards have followed them to the plains. Yet the cattle of the Bheels, which we have fallen in with, though lean, as all the Indian cattle are at this time of year, do not seem famished.

A few Bheel huts were seen scattered over the surrounding hills, in conformity with the practice which seems universal with these people, of fixing their habitations on a rising ground. A good many of their inhabitants assembled on one of the hills to look at the camp, but none came near it; and though Dr. Smith and I, during our evening's walk, fell in with three or four, they all made off as fast as they could, except one young man, who was, I apprehend, in the service of the police Thannadar, and whom we found with his bow and arrows, watching a small patch of barley, the only cultivation which we saw. Our own supplies were brought partly from Doonga, partly from Jhalloda, distances of six and ten miles, and

the horses got no gram till nearly nine o'clock at night.

Soon after I went to bed an alarm was given by one of the sentries, in consequence of a baboon drawing near his post. The character of the intruder was, however, soon detected by one of the suwaris, who on the Sepoy's repeating his exclamation of the broken English, "who goes 'ere?" said with a laugh, "why do you challenge the lungoor? he cannot answer you!" These animals are, some of them, as large as a moderate pointer, and when creeping through the bushes might well enough be mistaken for a Bheel, especially as the robbers of this nation generally make their approaches on their hands and feet.

*March 10.*—From Cheeta Talao I had intended to go to Lemree, a distance, stated by Captain Macdonald, to be sixteen miles. But on learning that it was customary to stop at Jhalloda, and that it was a large place, I determined on halting there, and the rather since I was told that we could not get to a better place of halting on Saturday than Doodeah. In all this I was misinformed, as the event shewed, but I had not now first to learn that in countries of this sort one must often learn one's way by actual experience. From Cheeta Talao our road lay through a deep and close forest, in the lower parts of which, even in the present season, the same thick milky vapour was hovering as that which I saw in the Terrai, and which is called "essence of owl." We passed one or two places of this kind both yesterday and to-day, than which no fitter

spots could be conceived, at a proper time of year, to shelter a tyger or communicate a jungle fever. Even now they were chilling cold, and the gloom and closeness of the ravines seen in the moonlight made them dismally wild and awful. At the end of about nine miles we crossed the bed of the Mhysree, and went past a Thanna named Moorkhousla, and through a country partially cultivated, another mile to Jhalloda. We passed, both yesterday and this morning, caravans of waggons loaded with cocoa-nuts proceeding from Baroda to Malwah and the northern provinces. They were to bring back mhowah and corn, so that it appears that the present high prices in Guzerât have actually made it worth while to encounter the heavy transit duties.

We found also at Jhalloda a Charun, a very fine athletic-looking man, and apparently a person of some property, who had been on a speculation of the same kind to Indore, whither he had taken a number of horses, and was now returning with about forty bullocks laden with grain to his own country of Cattywar. When we arrived at Jhalloda we found him just leaving the ground where he had bivouacked for the night with his cattle round him, putting on his huge red turban, girding his loins, and hanging on his sword and shield. A servant stood by him with his matchlock, and a saees held his poney, while four or five other retainers, with matchlocks on their shoulders, were beginning to drive off the bullocks. Many of the more opulent Charuns practise the trade of horse-dealing, being very much protected in their jour-

neys, against every body but Bheels, by the supposed sanctity of their character. The Cattywar horses are among the best in all India, equal to those of Cutch in beauty, and much superior in the generosity of their blood and fineness of their temper, in which they almost equal the Arabs. Some of them are dun with black tyger-like stripes, and these are the most valued.

Jhalloda had been described to me as a city, a name which it little deserves. It has a bazar, however, a mosque, a small pagoda, and some good, solidly-built brick houses, of a kind such as are not usually seen in the eastern districts of India, being of two stories high, with sloping tiled roofs, and very projecting eaves, which, from the smallness of their windows and other circumstances, put me a good deal in mind of our Shropshire malt-kilns. There is a large and handsome tank, not more than half full of water, but covered with multitudes of teal, the banks of which are shaded by some fine mangoe and ceiba-trees. The crimson blossoms of the last were very beautiful, and both they and the mangoes were full of monkeys, chiefly of the lungoor kind.

I learned, to my surprise, that Jhalloda, Godra, and three other small towns in this neighbourhood, with their dependant hamlets and districts, belong to Sindia, who is also feudal superior of the Raja of Lunewarra. I was not previously aware that he retained any influence in Guzerât. His own territories here are called the district of Punjmahal, and had been till lately held in Jaghire by one of

his relations who oppressed the people grievously, but had been just disgraced, as is said, by British influence, and after some ineffectual resistance, seized and carried to Gwalior. The Maharaja's flag, striped red and white, is hoisted in the market place, but the police of the neighbourhood, so far at least as the security of the road is concerned, appears to be vested in a moonshee of Captain Macdonald's, who came to pay his respects, and give me this information. Grain here, as we found from the bunyans who supplied the camp, was fifteen seers the rupee, and they said that we should find it dearer as we went on. They spoke of the crop now in the ground as never likely to come up, and said, which certainly agreed with our own observation, that the wheat and barley harvest which was now beginning would be dismally scanty.

A number of Bheels, men and women, came to the camp with bamboos in their hands, and the women with their clothes so scanty and tucked so high as to leave the whole limb nearly bare. They had a drum, a horn, and some other rude minstrelsy, and said they were come to celebrate the Hoolee. They drew up in two parties and had a mock-fight, in which at first the females had much the advantage, having very slender poles, while the men had only short cudgels, with which they had some difficulty in guarding their heads. At last some of the women began to strike a little too hard, on which their antagonists lost temper and closed with them so fiercely that the poor females were put to the rout in real or pretended terror. They



collected a little money in the camp, and then went on to another village. The Hoolee, according to the orthodox system, was over, but these games are often prolonged for several days after its conclusion.

In the evening I was alarmed by violent shrieks from the wife of one of the mohouts and her sister ; the husband had been beating them with a large stick, and both were all bloody. I found on examination, that the man had several serious grounds of complaint against them, but I admonished him severely for correcting them in such a manner, and threatened him with imprisonment at Baroda if such an offence occurred again. One of the women pretended to be very much hurt indeed, but she soon grew tired of shamming the insensible, and began to scold and scream away, declaring that she would never enter her husband's house again, a determination from which I had very little doubt she would relent as soon as her passion cooled, and the rather because in this strange land she had neither home nor harbour.

*March 11.*—The distance from Jhalloda to Leemree, our stage for this day, was little more than six miles, and had I been fully aware of all circumstances, might easily have been included in the yesterday's march. It lies through a wild country, though the jungle is not so close as that which we have lately traversed. One of the suwarr's horses dropt down and died on the road, to the great dismay of the poor rider, who stated that his horse was his chief worldly wealth, and that the allow-

ance made by a sort of regimental fund established for such emergencies would not buy him another. If he had lost it in battle, the Company would have given him 200 rupees, but at present he would receive only 150 from a stock-purse which all the irregular regiments keep up to meet casualties. Nor had he any means of procuring, at present, an animal to carry him in his long march. I felt, therefore, glad to be able to give him the Rawul of Banswarra's poney, which, though not tall enough for the ranks, would carry him perfectly well during his march, and the sale of which would afterwards come very handsomely in aid of his new purchase.

Leemree, or Neemree, for it seems to be pronounced both ways, is a good-sized village on the bank of the winding Mhysree, which we here crossed a second time; the water still formed many deep pools in parts of its rocky bed, in which were a good many fish. It was, however, as a countryman on the bank assured me, too putrid to be drinkable, and the camp was supplied from some small wells near the town. We overtook some Brinjarrees in this morning's march, carrying corn from the neighbourhood of Indore to Baroda. Soon after we arrived at our ground, a poor woman came to Dr. Smith, and complained that she had been robbed of all her property and beaten by the Bheels near the pass of Doodcah, which was about half-way in the stage which we were to go next morning. She added that, on her remonstrating, the plunderers threatened to take away her two children. A complaint nearly similar was brought to me in the even-

ing's walk by an elderly man, the Potal of the village, who said that he and some other people had had their wains stopped and plundered, and their oxen carried away, and on being reminded that they should have recourse to the officers of the Maharaja, whose subjects they were, replied with some justice, "Why do you English keep a line of posts through our country, unless you will defend us in passing along the road?" I told them to send one of their number with me to Barreah, where a moon-shee of the British Government resides, from whom I would endeavour to obtain justice for them. Dr. Smith had applicants for surgical aid both yesterday and to-day; the first was a very fine boy, who was brought by his parents with a dislocated shoulder, which had occurred six weeks ago. The second was also a boy, who had lost his sight in the small-pox, a case but too plainly hopeless. The poor child seemed very intelligent, but knowing nothing of the blessings of sight, seemed glad when he found that no operation was to be performed on him, but his father shed tears on learning that Dr. Smith could not help him.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of water which has prevailed here, forage does not seem scarce, and the cattle whom we met in carts, were by no means in a starving condition; they are not equal to those of Marwar, but they greatly surpass the wretched bullocks of Bengal, and are superior even to the average of Hindostan. Leemree has a small ruined brick fort, and a little bazar, but nothing worthy of notice. For a small distance round the

village the ground is cultivated, but all the further prospect is wilderness still. Near our tents many people, both men and women, were employed in cutting a barley-field. They reaped it with very small sickles, gathering it not by armsful, as in England, but by handful, cutting each time no more than they could grasp in the left hand; the crop was very thin and poor, with starveling ears, and wretchedly short straw. I observed that here, as in Europe, gleaning is a privilege of the poor, and that a number of miserable-looking women and children followed the reapers, picking up what they left. I was much grieved to see so sad a prospect for the ensuing year, and even now it is painful to look forward to the distress to which most of these villages must be liable from the total drying up of their rivers and wells before the first rains can be expected.

*March 12.*—We marched between sixteen and seventeen miles, through a very wild and beautiful country, and down a long, steep, and ragged descent, carried along the projecting ridge of a hill, with glens on each side. From the top of this Ghât I had expected a fine view of the rich and cultivated country, as it had been described to me, of Guzerât, but was surprised to see a fine prospect indeed, but still of wooded hill and valley, and so far as the eye could reach, no trace of human habitation, except one miserable thatched shed close to us, where a picquet of police Sepoys was stationed. As we descended the hill, however, Bheel huts were seen scattered among the trees, and we

successively passed a thatched Thanna surrounded with a bamboo fence, a small village chiefly of Bheels, called Doodeah, and after crossing a little river, or rather the dry bed of one, arrived in a beautiful glade, surrounded with tall trees, in which our tents were pitched, near a part of the river which yet had water.

In consequence of the alleged misbehaviour of the Bheels in this neighbourhood, I had directed some additional precautions to be observed in keeping the caravan together, and the soldiers in readiness for action. We met with no thieves, however, nor was it likely that they would come in the way of such a party. Indeed we found the Brinjarrees travelling the road without any additional precaution; they, however, are all armed, and such stout fellows that the thieves must be numerous and bold who would have any thing to say to them. The waggoners, likewise, of whom we met another large party, can travel through very wild countries in much security; they go in numbers, have mostly swords and shields, and often join their purses to hire an escort of Bheels, who, when trusted, are generally both brave and trustworthy. By day we frequently met them proceeding with an advanced and rear-guard of these naked bow-men, and at night they draw their waggons into a circle, placing their cattle in the centre, and connecting each ox to his yoke-fellow, and at length to the wain, by iron collars rivetted round their necks, and fastened to an iron chain, which last is locked to the cart-wheel. It is thus extremely difficult to plunder

without awaking them; and in addition to this, where the place is supposed to require it, one of their number stands sentry. Besides coco-nuts, we found they were carrying tobacco northwards.

*March 13.*—This day being Sunday, I was happy to be able to halt, an order which I believe was very acceptable to all the men and animals in the camp, who after our late stoney roads, were alike shewing symptoms of fatigue. I read prayers as usual in the morning, and in consideration of the greatly advanced price of provisions, which was now a rupee for fourteen seers of flour, I paid the bunyans for furnishing a seer of flour, or day's meal, to every person in the camp. In the course of the afternoon I had the happiness to receive a packet of letters, forwarded by Mr. Williams, Resident at the court of Baroda, containing a favourable account of my wife and children, and letters from my mother and sister. I dreamt of Hodnet all night!

*March 14.*—We were met, almost immediately on our setting out this morning, by two suwarra in the service of the Raja of Barreah, who came to act as guides. We followed them among some romantic woody hills, and through some of the thickest jungle which we have traversed, to a small plain, or more open spot, with a Thanna and village, named Jerreah, ten miles from Barreah. This is the usual halting-place, but the wells are now insufficient for so large a party as mine, and I therefore had settled to go on to the city, which is five miles further, and not more than two or three out of the direct

road. In our way we were met by Captain Macdonald's moonshee, in charge of this part of the road, a mussulman, and native of Allahabad, accompanied by a crowd of very shabby horsemen, among whom he presented one to me as the Kamdar of the Raja of Barreah, and sent on his master's part to meet me. The moonshee was well-mounted and gaily dressed, with sword, dagger, shawl, inlaid trappings, and all the usual insignia of a Moham-medan gentleman. All the rest, the Kamdar among them, were wrapped up in coarse cotton cloth, on sorry horses, and had, with their long spears, buffalo-hide shields, and bare legs and heels, pretty exactly the appearance of the Abyssinian troops described by Bruce. Several men, naked all but the waistcloth, followed, with matchlocks on their shoulders, and the procession was closed by a number of Bheel archers, differing in no respect from those whom we had seen on the mountains. The only mark of state, and this is Abyssinian also, was that the "nagari," or great kettle-drum, was carried at their head, and beat with single dubs, from time to time. Here the Rajpoot red turban loses its consequence, the reigning family of Baroda being Maharattas, to which race, apparently, the horsemen whom we met to-day belonged. This will, in a great measure, account for their shabby appearance, the Maharatta pretty generally affecting a soldierly plainness, and to despise all show and parade. This, however, is not the only instance in which a neglect of appearances seems to exist in Guzerât. The hurkaru who brought Mr. Wil-

liams's letter was a mere beggar in his dress, and so dirty as even beggars are seldom seen in Hindostan or Bengal. Yet on being asked what situation he held about the Residency, he described himself as a servant in regular pay, and receiving no less than eight rupees a month ! On such wages, and in such a situation, it would go hard indeed with a Hindoostanee but he would have decent clothing, shoes, a sword with silver or plated hilt, and an embroidered belt. The old man, however, for such he was, was cheerful and intelligent. He had brought the letter on foot from Baroda, in two days and a night,—professed to know the straightest roads all over Guzerât, and as the value of his rags did not exceed many pice, and nobody could suspect him of being a Government functionary, he was probably one of the best messengers who could be employed in a country so wild, and in so much anarchy, as this has usually been.

Barreah stands very prettily in the midst of woody hills. Among the few fruit-trees which are immediately about its gates, I saw some coco-palms, the first which I had seen since I left Bengal, and a proof that we were again approaching the sea.

The Raja, a child of twelve years old, with a cousin a little older, the Kamdar mentioned before, and a number of ragged attendants, came to see me in the evening. He was carried in a handsome palanquin, had the nagari and neshan of state carried before him, and was himself a pretty little boy, with an intelligent countenance, and neatly dressed.



with sword, shield, and dagger, suited to his age, and a large red turban. His name is Prit'hee Lall Singh, and he is a Rajpoot, though those with him were Maharattas or Bheels, and he appeared to have few of his own caste either in his court or territory, both which shewed marks of much poverty. I received him with military honours, seated him on a chair at my right hand, and placed his cousin on another at my left. These attentions were more intended to please the boy's followers than himself, and as a proper means of keeping up his consequence in their estimation. But though I suppose he was hardly old enough to care about forms, I was amused to see how much the novelty of the sight delighted him, particularly the red coats and muskets of the Sepoys, who are rarities in these secluded valleys. He listened, too, with much more interest and animation than is generally displayed by the upper ranks of Hindoos in conversation, to the account which Dr. Smith gave him of the cities which I had visited, and of my intended long voyage by sea, and by the way of Lanca to Calcutta. The sea is called, by all the natives of Central India, "kala panee," (black water,) and they have the most terrible ideas of it and the countries beyond it. Sir John Malcolm relates, in his account of Malwah, that when Chee-too, the Pindarree chief, was flying in hopeless misery from the English, he was often advised by his followers to surrender to their mercy. He was possessed, however, by the idea that he should be transported, and this notion was to him more

hideous than death. These men, who all one after another came in and obtained pardon, said that during their Captain's short and miserable sleep, he used continually to murmur, "kala panee!" "kala panee!" Thus haunted, he never would yield, till at length all his people, one by one, had forsaken him in the jungle, and a mangled body was found in a tyger's lair, which the sword, the ornamented saddle, and a letter-case containing some important papers, and a general's commission from the Ex-Raja of Nagpoor, proved to have been once the scourge of Central India! A nearly similar case, Dr. Smith said, had fallen under his own knowledge, of a Bheel chief, who, for murder and robbery, was sent to be confined at Allahabad. He was very anxious during the march to obtain spirituous liquors, which the officer commanding the escort, out of compassion, frequently supplied him with. When, however, he was drunk, he would never be pacified with the assurance that he was only to be confined at Allahabad, and used to cry and rave about "kala panee," invoking "Company Sahib" to be merciful, and kill him, that he might be burned in Hindostan. With such feelings, they may well listen with astonishment to the long voyages which we voluntarily take, and of the strange lands which must lie beyond this frightful barrier.

The Kamdar told us that Barreah had suffered grievously during the years of trouble; but that their late Raja was a valiant man, and his little country being strong and easily defended, he had

never paid tribute either to Maharaja or Pindarree, unless actually constrained by force, and had always revolted again as soon as the pressure of a present and victorious army was withdrawn. The Kamdar's own name, he said, was Nuttoo Bae. After sitting some little time, an event, of which I had been from the first apprehensive, occurred, and I was told by the Kamdar that the Raja had brought a horse, of which he begged my acceptance. I fought it off as long as I could, urging, with great truth, that it would really put me to difficulty, that I could not take it on ship-board, and did not know what I should do with it. The people present all said it was "namoobaruk," (unlucky,) to send me away without a present, and at last the little Raja rose and, joining his hands, said, "Lord Sahib, for my sake, take this horse." I was therefore obliged to yield, and was glad to believe that the present I had prepared for him, while I could very well spare it, was handsome, and likely to be useful to him. It consisted of three pieces of English flowered muslin, and a gilt dagger in a red and yellow velvet sheath, which I stuck in the little fellow's sash, and which appeared to please him greatly. The horse was now brought, and turned out to be really a very pretty Cutch poney, old certainly, and in bad condition, but still equal to some service.

The Raja now took his leave, and went off with his cousin in the palanquin. The Kamdar, and another man who said he was a shroff, or banker, remained, and took some pains to explain a trans-

action in which they had been concerned, in regard to certain arrears of the tribute paid by them to the British Government. The late Kamdar, now in prison, had detained, they said, for two years back, the balance which he ought to have remitted to Mr. Macdonald, having been encouraged to do so by a report that the Raja of the Burmans had already taken Calcutta. The shroff then present had detained some part of his effects, but had applied them, if I understood right, to the payment of a debt to himself. He had, however, no share in the treasonable or fraudulent part of the transaction. I said that I would speak favourably of them in my letter to Captain Macdonald; and his moonshee afterwards told me, that Captain Macdonald thought highly of the present Kamdar, and had treated him with marked kindness and confidence. Both Kamdar and shroff gave a dismal account of the distress of Barreah, and the neighbouring countries. In the small and barren territory of the Raja, containing about 270 villages, a very large proportion were almost without inhabitants; and in the course of our afternoon's walk through the little town, I for the first time saw some of the horrors of an Indian famine. The town had been, to all appearance, neat and substantially built, but a great many houses were uninhabited, and falling to decay. The cattle which they were driving in from the jungle for the night were mere skeletons, and so weak that they could hardly get out of the path. There were few beggars, for it seemed as if they had either died off or gone to some other land; but all the people,

even the bunyans, who generally look well fed, were pictures of squalid hunger and wretchedness; and the beggars who happened to fall in my way! alas! I shall never forget them! for I never before could have conceived life to linger in such skeletons. To one of these, an elderly man, naked except a little rag fastened with a packthread round his waist, I gave all the pice I could collect from my own pocket or the servants who were with me; and after all, they, I am sorry to say, amounted to only two or three anas. The man clasped them in his hands, burst into a ghastly laugh, and ran off as if in a hurry to buy food immediately. A little further was a still more dreadful figure, a Bheel, who did not beg, but was in a state of such visible starvation that I called to him, and bid him go to the khânsaman for something to eat. I followed him to my tents, and found that he had already had some scraps given him by the sweeper. I added to these a shoulder of mutton and a seer of flour, as well as, I am ashamed to say *hoi* little money, all which the poor wretch tried to fold in the rag which he took from his loins. He seemed quite past every thing, and even indifferent to what I was doing for him. Some famishing children now came up, a poor man who said he was a butcher, but had no employ, and a black, who described himself as a Mussulman Fakir, and a native of Masuah in Abyssinia. I gave a few anas to each, reproaching myself all the time for giving so little, but apprehending that I should shortly have half the population round me, and that if I gave what

I felt inclined to do, I should not leave myself enough for my own expences to Baroda, as well as for the many similar objects of distress which I might see by the way.

The misery of this immediate neighbourhood has been materially augmented by superstition. The calamity is want of water, yet there is a fine boolee close to the city, which, even now is nearly full, but of which no use is made. A man fell into it and was drowned, two years ago, and the people not only desisted from drinking the water themselves, (which for a certain time was not unnatural,) but from giving it their cattle, or irrigating their ground from it. For want of being stirred it is now, of course, putrid and offensive, but would soon recover if drawn off liberally for the fields, and become again useful both for beast and man. But they would starve, and in fact, were starving, rather than incur this fancied pollution. The agricultural implements, and every thing else in this country, seem behind those of their Hindoostanee neighbours. The carts and ploughs are ruder and worse constructed, and their wells have not even the simple machinery, if it deserves the name, for raising the water, which I never saw one without in Upper India, and which is always found in the wildest parts of Malwah, and the valley of the Nerbudda. We were as yet, however, in the jungles, and it would not have been fair to judge of Guzerât in general from the specimen which we now had seen.

*March 16.*—From Barreah we went to Damma Ka Boolee, a cistern in the jungles, constructed by

a person named Damma Jee, whose name it bears, by which is a small police Thanna. About five miles further we crossed the dry and rocky bed of a river Mhysree, (the second of the name,) on whose banks our tents were pitched, in a romantic situation, near a scattered village. Immediately adjoining the houses, and in some parts of the bed of the river, were marks of a crop having been recently reaped, from fields, or rather small gardens, with high bamboo fences. This was almost the only approach to cultivation which we had seen since we entered the territories of Barreah, whose young sovereign, poor little fellow, would indeed have a "noble grist" if mhowah-trees were mangoes, and jungle-grass corn.

The head man of the village said he was a Khollee, the name of a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerât, who, from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have, (under the corrupt name of Coolie) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese, to bearers of burthens all over India. In Guzerât, they are described in Hamilton's Gazetteer, as distinguished by their uncleanness, ferocity, and predatory habits, and as giving a great deal of trouble to Government. This person, however, was of decent manners and appearance. Our supplies of every kind were brought with us from Barreah, so that we had no occasion to give him any trouble, firewood being at hand under these dry shrivelled trees for every body who chose to get it. To obtain water in sufficient quantity for the camp, it was

necessary to dig three or four feet in the sand of the river's bed, when water soon rose to the surface. The other inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood were Bheels, but it gave me pleasure to see that these lowland Bheels, (notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil, and the actual distress of the country,) were in seeming better plight than those we had meet in the hills, to say nothing of the wretched beggars of Barreah. Their dwellings were larger, they had more ample mantles, that is, the dirty cotton cloth which covered their heads and shoulders reached generally to their hips. Many of them had swords and shields, others a small but neatly-made hatchet, and one man, who was our guide through the wood to-day, and had a blanket of red baize flung over his shoulders, as he trotted along the rugged road before my horse's head reminded me exceedingly of the pictures of a North American Indian. He was one of the servants of the police Thanna, so that the Company's pay had probably put him in better plight than most of his neighbours.

Near this village was the finest banyan-tree which I had ever seen, literally a grove rising from a single primary stem, whose massive secondary trunks, with their straightness, orderly arrangement, and evident connexion with the parent stock, gave the general effect of a vast vegetable organ. The first impression which I felt on coming under its shade was, "What a noble place of worship!" I was glad to find that it had not been debased, as I expected to find it, by the symbols of



idolatry, though some rude earthen figures of elephants were set up over a wicket leading to it, but at a little distance. I should exult in such a scene, to collect a Christian congregation. The banks of the Mhysree are steep and rocky, and the granite rock is seen every where through the country, peeping out, or rising in large insulated masses, above the scanty soil.

*March 16.*—Another march of about eight miles through jungle, as usual, brought us to Aradiah, a poor deserted village, whence, through a more open country, we went four and a half more to Mullaow. Both these places belong to Sindia, and the latter has been a large village, but is now almost unpeopled, by the tyranny of Sindia's governor, Put-tun-kar, and by this year of famine. We met a herd of cows on entering the place, mere anatomies, and so weak, that when one of them fell in crossing the ruts of the road, she could not rise again. The country is here adapted for rice-cultivation, the water for which, in more auspicious years, has been supplied from a large artificial tank. This is not now quite dry, but is so low beneath its banks, as to be inapplicable to irrigation, and the fields, when I saw them, were perfectly waste and bare, and their soil the colour and consistency of a sandy turnpike-road. Flour was dearer than even at Barreah, being here only eleven seer for the rupee, and there was no gram to be obtained, except the inferior sort, called "motec," which made two of the horses ill, though it is a common provender in many parts of India.

I this day unexpectedly found the Raja's little horse very useful, Cabul having unfortunately hurt himself by his endeavours, when picketted, to get away from an elephant which broke loose and came too near him, and the suwarree elephant being, by the abominable carelessness of the mohout, saddle-galled. The Raja's horse had been described to me as very wild and ill-tempered, but I found that his restiveness had only arisen from the excessively severe bit with which the natives ride, and in my bridle he went perfectly well. Like all the horses used by men of rank in India, he would not trot, but had an elastic springy amble, graceful in itself, and agreeable to the rider, but ill calculated for a long stage, since it must knock up the horse much sooner than the usual paces of English travelling.

We had now apparently left the hills ; there was still, however, one very fine insulated mass of rock on our left, with a large fortress on the top, called Powaghur. It belongs to Sindia, to whom also belongs the city of Champancer, at its base. I here received letters again from Baroda, brought by two miserably ragged and dirty men, who called themselves servants of the Resident ! They had not even the common brass lotee for drinking, which few beggars are without in the eastern and northern provinces, but merely a gourd-shell, and instead of the spiked and painted staff which there every common Dâk-messenger carries, had long ragged staves plucked out of some hedge, while their rags were scarcely enough to answer the purposes even of Indian decency. All the people, indeed, whom we

see, now that we are arrived in the plains, are in appearance, cleanliness, clothes, and even stature, inferior to those both of Hindostan and Bengal. The language differs much less than I expected, but there are several Arabic words, which no less than the Abyssinian beggar I met at Barreah, remind me that I am drawing near a coast which has been long and inseparably connected, by commerce and other ties, with Arabia and Africa. I saw no coco-trees to-day, but the tara-palms are numerous.

A great man, a relation of Sindia's, who was on a journey, took up his quarters at Mullaow to-day. His coming was announced by the sound of the nagari, and by a trumpet, so exactly resembling that which ushers in Mr. Punch, that I could have thought that he had arrived in person. In the morning, however, when my drum and fife beat the reveillé, the band of the Maharatta chieftain tried to imitate them, but with little success. I did not learn his name, indeed I was very closely occupied with some absurd tracasseries of which I had just received accounts, which seem likely to give me a good deal of trouble, respecting some of the good people of my diocese in Southern India. It is enough to make one sad, if not angry, to see how many bye-ends, how many personal rivalries, and how many mutual suspicions of ill intentions are allowed to mix even in the noblest of all works, by men who profess to be, and I believe mainly are, actuated by the same motives. Now must I speak all these men fair, to prevent their coming to an open schism, and very probably offend them

all, because I cannot, and will not, go so far on either side as its supporters wish me.

*March 18.*—From Mullaow to Kunjerree is a march of twelve miles, the greater part still jungle, and the rest seems desolate and abandoned by its cultivators. Yet the soil, in better years, and when water is abundant, seems well calculated for rice ; there are many groves of fruit-trees and tara-palms, and a number of small streams, which properly and substantially dammed up, as has been done in Rajpootana and Meywar, might have in a great measure secured these districts from the miseries of the present year. But every thing seems to shew that we are in one of the least improved, as it has been, till very lately, one of the most anarchical and disturbed parts of India. We passed a large number of Brinjarrees who were carrying salt into Malwah, and were to bring back corn. They differed in some respects from their more northern brethren. Most of these last have matchlocks, but the Guzerâttees had all bows, (of the Bheel construction, but larger and stronger) arrows, sword, and shield, except one man who had a sword and broad partizan or halbert. Even the children had, many of them, bows and arrows suited to their strength, and I saw one young woman equipped in the same manner. The men were very scantily clothed, but fine-looking and powerful, though not tall, fellows, and the females were the largest and most masculine whom I have yet seen in India. They a little resembled the *mug*-women, not of Arracan, but of Shropshire and Staffordshire, in their firm step and

erect carriage, and though toasted by the sun to a thorough brick-colour, and with much coarseness of feature, were not so black as the Bengalees. Their dress was a roll of red cloth, wrapped round their bodies like the natives of the South Sea Islands, and a red mantilla, like a veil, which covered their heads, shoulders, and breasts, and shewed only the lower part of their coarse sinewy arms, except when they raised them to beat the cattle out of their way. They had all bracelets of red sealing-wax, and massive anklets of white metal, like silver; they had also metal rings in their noses.

At Kunjerree, which is still in Sindia's limit, I found that the Maharaja, in all this part of his territory, was seldom called by his proper name, Dowlut Raow, but by the Arabic and Mussulman appellation which, singularly enough for a Hindoo, he has assumed within these few years, of "Ali Jah,"—"Exalted of the Lord." The fort of Powaghur was the residence of the late governor, Puttunkur, whose family are said to be still living there. He himself is gone to Gwalior, but whether actually as prisoner or not we heard different statements; the country people said that he was, probably because they hoped so. The Brahmins, he also being a Brahmin, denied it. The present governor of the province, Gungadur Appajee, is residing at Godra.

We were overtaken this morning by the principal moonshee of the Residency, a shrewd Maharatta Brahmin, accompanied by two others, aides-du-camp to the Guicwar, who had some days been

in quest of me with letters, having marched to meet me via Godra, and thus gone as far as Doodeah before they found their mistake. They had with them two of Mr. Williams's chobdars, and two of the Raja's, with divers irregular horse, a standard, negari, and four regular cavalry. There was a good deal of parade, but not equal in grave and orderly magnificence to what I had seen in Hindostan. Still I found that in Guzerât, as well as elsewhere in India, pomp *was* attended to. I was agitated with a delight, not unmixed with painful anxiety, on hearing that my dear wife was probably already at sea, on her way to meet me, with one of my little ones, having been compelled, alas ! to leave the other in Calcutta.

*March 18.*—From Kunjerree to Jerrdda is twelve miles, through an open, and in less unfavourable years, a well cultivated country. Even now I saw some fields of flourishing sugar-cane watered from wells, on examining which I found, to my surprise, that the water was very near the surface, and that had the people possessed more capital, for industry I do not suspect them of wanting, they might have in a great degree defied the want of rain. We found Archdeacon Barnes's tent here, and he himself arrived at breakfast-time. I had not seen him since he left Oxford, and found him less changed by the lapse of seventeen years, ten of them spent in India, than I expected. In other respects he is scarcely altered at all, having the same cheerful spirits and unaffected manner which he used to have when a young Master of Arts. From him I

learned that Mr. Williams and the Guicwar Raja both meant to come out to meet me the next day, at some little distance from Baroda.

I walked in the afternoon with him and Dr. Smith, to look at the Maharatta horse, who had accompanied the Raja's vakeel and Mr. Williams's dewan. They were fifty in number, the horses much better, both in size and spirit, than those usually ridden by the irregular cavalry of Hindostan, the men inferior in height, good looks, and dress; the arms and appointments of both pretty nearly the same; some had spears, most had matchlocks, shields and swords.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

L O N D O N

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